The Emotional Life of Nations

Lloyd deMause

"This is the basic statement of all that de Mause has learned in some 40 years of psychohistorical work. This book is truly epic in its scope. Anyone wishing to understand our field must, sooner or later, study this book closely."

International Psychohistorical Association

Table of Contents

Preface	4
Chapter 1: The Assassination of Leaders	6
Chapter 2: The Gulf War as a Mental Disorder	13
Chapter 3: The Childhood Origins of Terrorism	28
Chapter 4: Restaging Early Traumas in War and Social Violence	32
Chapter 5: The Psychogenic Theory of History	62
Chapter 6: War as Righteous Rage and Purification	108
Chapter 7: Childhood and Cultural Evolution	158
Chapter 8: The Evolution of Childrearing	202
Chapter 9: The Evolution of the Psyche and Society	248

Preface

The purpose of this book is to reveal for the first time how the ultimate cause of all wars and human misery is the parental holocaust of children throughout history–an untold story of how literally billions of innocent, helpless children have been routinely killed, bound, battered, mutilated, raped and tortured and then as adults have inflicted upon others the nightmares they themselves experienced.

Most of what you will read here will be new, upsetting and difficult to believe, despite the extensive historical, anthropological, clinical and neurobiological evidence I will present. But after you read it I think you will be able to understand for the first time why what Kierkegard called "the slaughterbench of history" happened, where we are today in the evolution of humanity and what we can do tomorrow to bring about a peaceful, happier world.

In these pages I hope to accomplish the following ten goals:

(1) to provide a new psychogenic theory of history as an alternative to the sociogenic theories of all other social sciences,

(2) to show that childrearing evolution is an independent cause of historical change, with love as the central force in history, creating new kinds of personalities-new psychoclasses-that then change societies,

(3) to demonstrate that historical progress depends less on military conquests and more on the migration patterns of innovative mothers and "hopeful daughters,"

(4) to show how political, religious and social behavior restage early traumas, even those occurring before birth, recorded in separate areas of our minds called social alters,

(5) to show that social institutions are not just utilitarian but are also designed to be self-destructive, representing shared ways of dealing with emotional problems caused by deep personal anxieties surrounding growth and individuation,

(6) to explain how a new historical tool, fantasy analysis, can objectively discover shared emotions and group-fantasies that occur in lawful stages which determine the sequence of political events,

(7) to show that groups go to war to rid themselves of shared feelings of sinfulness and fears of disintegration, cleansing their feelings by sacrificing victims containing rejected parts of themselves,

(8) to show why we need enemies, why we feel depressed when enemies disappear, and what this has to do with our periodic need for wars and economic crises whose purpose is to reduce our anxieties about success and prosperity,

(9) to show why history is now a race between too slowly improving childrearing and too fast evolving destructive technology, and

(10) to demonstrate that new ways for more advanced parents to help other parents-such as parenting centers with home visiting programs, which have been shown capable of eliminating child abuse-and allow us to avoid global genocide.

The first third of the book is devoted to describing how early personal experiences determine political behavior. It begins with three chapters describing recent American political events-the shooting of two American presidents, the group-fantasies leading up to the Gulf War and the childhood origins of terrorism-in order to show how hidden shared emotions cause political violence.

The second third of the book is devoted to detailing a psychohistorical theory of history, first as it applies to politics, secondly as it explains the causes of war and thirdly as it shows the connections between childhood and the evolution of the psyche and society.

The final third of the book is a history of how childhood in the West evolved, era by era, and how better childrearing produced new psychoclasses, who then created new social, religious and political institutions.

I have tried to include in this book most of what I have learned about childhood and history during the past four decades. I would welcome hearing from you what you think about what I say here, and I promise you a personal reply to your email or letter.

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Chapter 1: The Assassination of Leaders

"Peace is a helluva letdown"
Field Marshall Montgomery

When Ronald Reagan became president in 1981, America was in a strange mood.

The country had been experiencing a period of peace and prosperity. The Americans held hostage in Iran had been safely returned home without requiring military action. Our Gross National Product per person was the highest of any nation in history. Although America should have felt strong and happy, it instead felt weak and impoverished. The strongest nation on earth, with the highest personal income at any time in its history and the greatest human freedoms anywhere on earth, America during the Reagan election was filled with visions of imminent moral and economic collapse.[1]

Our new president voiced our fears: we were not strong at all, he said, but "weak and disintegrating," in a "ship about to go over the falls," and "in greater danger today than we were the day after Pearl Harbor." We had become so impotent, in fact, that we were in immediate danger of being overcome by "an evil force that would extinguish the light we've been tending for 6,000 years."[2]

1:1 As Reagan became president, America felt it was sinking and besieged by evil forces

During the early months of the Reagan presidency, I was teaching a course in psychohistory at the City University of New York. To show the class how to discover the shared moods of nations, I asked them to bring in current political cartoons, magazine covers, presidential speeches and newspaper columns in order to see what images and emotional words were being circulated in the body politic. When Reagan said in his Inaugural Address that we felt "terror" (of inflation), "doomed," "frightened" and "disintegrating" (as a nation), and full of "pent-up furies" (toward government), the class was asked to consider what the psychological sources might be for such apocalyptic language at this particular point in time in America's history.

The class had been studying earlier historical material on national moods, in order to learn how to decode the fantasies that might affect the nation's political decisions. They learned that leaders are often expected to sense the irrational wishes and fears of their nations and do something to deflect or relieve their anxieties. In studying our book, Jimmy Carter and American Fantasy,[3] they saw how nations go through emotional cycles that are lawful and that affect political and economic decisions. They discovered, for instance, that American presidents regularly started their first year being seen as strong, with high approval ratings in the polls, and then were depicted as weakening and eventually as collapsing as their polls decline, which they regularly did, regardless of how successful they actually were. Since leaders are imagined to be the only ones that can control the nation's emotional life, the nation's emotional life seems to be getting "out of control" as its leader is imagined to be growing more and more impotent. The class studied how major decisions by presidents over the past several decades were influenced by the four fantasized leadership stages of strong, cracking, collapse and upheaval. Wars, for instance, have never begun in the first year of the president's term, when he was seen as strong and in control.[4]

Furthermore, the class saw the disappointment that had been felt when leaders refuse to take nations to war when they were emotionally ready, i.e., when the leader seemed to be "collapsed" and impotent. The main case-study they examined to demonstrate this disappointment with the leader who was "too impotent to go to war" was the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Early in President Kennedy's term of office, Robert McNamara said,[5] the President had become so "hysterical" about having Fidel Castro in power in Cuba that he first helped the refugees invade Cuba and then ordered a military embargo before Soviet missiles were discovered. The embargo against Cuba was a particularly gratuitous act, done only to feed the growing war demands of the nation. Kennedy told a reporter that it was something that "the country rather enjoyed. It was exciting, it was a diversion, there was the feeling we were doing something."[6] After the embargo was announced, eight thousand members of the Conservative Party met in Madison Square Garden and roared out to Kennedy, "Fight! Fight! Fight!"[7]

When Soviet missiles were later discovered in Cuba put there as the Soviet's response to the invasion of Cuba Kennedy's advisors admitted that "militarily it doesn't mean that much,"[8] since Soviet submarines with nuclear warheads had long been in Cuban waters. Yet the president maintained that, rather than feeling "humiliated," he was ready to risk a nuclear war over their immediate removal, vowing "If Khrushchev wants to rub my nose in the dirt, it's all over."[9] He bragged to his associates that he would "cut off the balls" of Khrushchev,[10] saying "he can't do this to me"[11]and that it was "like dealing with Dad. All give and no take."[12] Even though he admitted he was risking plunging the world into "a holocaust," he said that Americans wanted military action so badly that if he didn't act immediately to have them removed, he would risk being impeached.[13]

Massing a quarter of a million men and 180 ships at the tip of Florida, the president put 156 ICBM's at "ready for launch" and sent up bombers containing 1,300 nuclear weapons with Soviet cities as targets.[14] The nation was "ready to go." Only 4 percent of Americans opposed Kennedy's actions, even though 60 percent thought they would lead to World War III,[15] probably even an American apocalypse, since the Soviets had armed nuclear missiles in Cuba that

Khrushchev had given his local commanders instructions to launch on their own authority toward the U.S. should a military confrontation begin.[16]

When Khrushchev then backed down (thankfully, otherwise you might not be alive and reading this book) and removed the missiles and the crisis suddenly ended without any war, Americans felt an enormous letdown.[17] The media reported on "The Strange Mood of America Today Baffled and uncertain of what to believe…"[18] It began to ask what were seen as frightening questions: "Will It Now Be A World Without Real War? Suddenly the world seems quiet…Why the quiet? What does it mean?"[19] The prospect of peaceful quiet felt terribly frightening.

Americans from all parties were furious with Kennedy for various pretexts. Many began calling for a new Cuban invasion, agreeing with Barry Goldwater's demand that Kennedy "do anything that needs to be done to get rid of that cancer. If it means war, let it mean war."[20] Kennedy was accused of being soft on Communism for living up to his no-invasion pledge to the Soviets, and when he then proposed signing a Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with them, his popularity dropped even further.[21]
The nation's columnists expressed their fury towards the president, and

1:2 America felt death wishes toward Kennedy for not starting a war with Cuba

political cartoonists pictured Kennedy with his head being chopped off by a guillotine (above). Richard Nixon warned, "There'll be…blood spilled before [the election is] over,"[22] and a cartoon in The Washington Post portrayed Nixon digging a grave. Many editorialists were even more blunt. The Delaware State News editorialized: "Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus. His name right now happens to be Kennedy let's shoot him, literally, before Christmas."[23] Potential assassins all over the country-psychopaths who are always around looking for permission to kill-saw all these media death wishes as signals, as delegations to carry out a necessary task, and began to pick up these fantasies as permission to kill Kennedy.[24]

Kennedy's aides warned him of an increase in the number of death threats toward him. His trip to Dallas, known as the "hate capital of Dixie," was seen as particularly dangerous. His aides begged him to cancel his trip. Senator J. William Fulbright told him, "Dallas is a very dangerous place…I wouldn't go there. Don't you go."[25] Vice President Lyndon Johnson, writing the opening lines of the speech he intended to make in Austin after the Dallas visit, planned to open with: "Mr. President, thank God you made it out of Dallas alive!"[26] Dallas judges and leading citizens

warned the President he should not come to the city because of the danger of assassination. The day before the assassination, as handbills were passed out in Dallas with Kennedy's picture under the headline "Wanted For Treason," militants of the John Birch Society and other violent groups flooded into Dallas, and hundreds of reporters flew in from all over the country, alerted that something might happen to the president.[27]

Kennedy himself sensed consciously he might be shot. Two months before the actual assassination, he made a home movie "just for fun" of himself being assassinated.[28] The morning of his assassination, an aide later recalled, Kennedy went to his hotel window, "looked down at the speaker's platform…and shook his head. 'Just look at that platform,' he said. 'With all those buildings around it, the Secret Service couldn't stop someone who really wanted to get you.'"[29] When Jackie Kennedy told him she was really afraid of an assassin on this trip, JFK agreed, saying, "We're heading into nut country today….You know, last night would have been a hell of a night to assassinate a President. I mean it…suppose a man had a pistol in a briefcase." He pointed his index finger at the wall and jerked his thumb. "Then he could have dropped the gun and briefcase and melted away in the crowd."[30] Despite all the warnings, however, Kennedy unconsciously accepted the martyr's role. He was, after all, used to doing all his life what others wanted him to do.[31] So although a Secret Service man told him the city was so dangerous that he had better put up the bulletproof plastic top on his limousine, he specifically told him not to do so.[32] In fact, someone instructed the Secret Service not to be present ahead of time in Dallas and check out open windows such as those in the Book Depository, as they normally did whenever a president traveled in public as Kennedy did.[33]Only then, with the nation, the assassin, the Secret Service and the president all in agreement, the assassination could be successfully carried out.

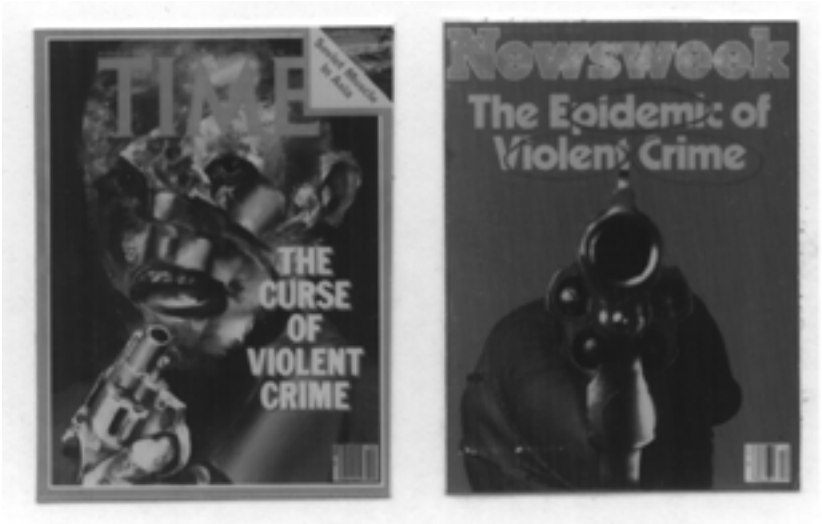
By this point in our studies, my class began to see how assassinations might be delegated by nations to individuals for purely internal emotional reasons. We noted that six of the seven assassination attempts on American presidents took place either after unusually long peaceful periods, like the assassination of James Garfield on July 2, 1881, or after a peace treaty at the end of a war,[34] like the assassination of Abraham Lincoln on April 15, 1965, six days after the end of the Civil War.[35] It was as if peace was experienced by the nation as a betrayal, that nations expressed their rage at their leaders for bringing peace, and that assassins picked up the subliminal death wishes and tried to kill the leaders.

In studying the nation's anger that followed Kennedy's aborted war in Cuba, the class could not help but compare the nation's emotional mood in 1963 to the feelings at that moment in 1980 following the recently aborted war in Iran, just before Reagan was elected president. Furious with Iran over the long hostage crisis, America had been whipped into a war frenzy similar to the earlier one against Cuba by the media. "Kids Tell Jimmy to 'Start Shooting" the New York Post headlined, while a commentator summarized the bellicose mood by saying that "seldom has there been more talk of war, its certainty, its necessity, its desirability."[36] Polls showed most Americans favored invasion of Iran even if it meant that all the hostages would be killed, since war, not saving lives, was what the country wanted.[37] When the rescue attempt floundered because of a helicopter crash and Carter refused to send in the American troops, planes and ships that were massed for attack, the nation turned its fury toward him, just as it had toward Kennedy after the Cuban confrontation failed to produce war. Carter was buried in a landslide, rather than in a coffin like Kennedy, and Ronald Reagan was elected president.

The students wondered (as did their teacher) if the nation's fury had really subsided, or if their rage might continue toward the new president. Even though this made no rational sense-all the hostages, after all, had already been returned safely-it made sense emotionally.

That Reagan might be a target for our death wishes after the aborted Iranian invasion was hinted at by widespread speculation during his campaign regarding a "death jinx" that might strike him. As I mentioned previously, someone had figured out that no American president elected since 1840 in a year ending in zero had lived out his term. Bumper stickers had appeared joking "Re-elect Bush [Reagan's running mate] in 1984." Newspapers began running political cartoons and headlines with subliminal messages similar to those that had appeared before Kennedy's assassination, such as the cartoon of a guillotine being constructed on Reagan's inauguration platform and an Anthony Lewis column in The New York Times headlined "The King Must Die."

The climax for these shared fantasies that "the king must die" came in the final week of March. That week, my students brought in numerous magazine covers, political cartoons and newspaper articles that clearly showed these death wishes. Time and Newsweek ran scare stories about a "wildly out of control" crime wave that was supposed to be occurring–although they had paid little attention to crime in previous months and in fact the actual crime rate had been decreasing during those months[38]–illustrating our angry fantasies and death wishes with identical covers depicting menacing guns pointed at the reader.



1:3 Guns were on our mind the week before the assassination

The *New Republic* cover featured graves in Washington. One cartoonist showed Americans constructing a guillotine being built for Reagan (the same guillotine that had been shown off the head of President Kennedy before his assassination).

1:4 Death wishes toward Reagan

Other cartoonists showed Reagan next to targets and guns in the White House, with the odd suggestion that perhaps his wife might want to shoot him with guns she has stored beneath their bed. The cover illustration of U.S. News & World Report pictured "Angry Americans" with a subhead that was seemingly unrelated but in fact that carried the message of what all "angry Americans" should now do. The headline read: "FEDERAL WASTE-REAGAN'S NEXT TARGET," a wording that contains two hidden embedded messages: "WASTE REAGAN" (slang for "Kill Reagan") and "REAGAN'S [THE] NEXT TARGET."

In order to see if our upsetting findings were just our own selection process creating a personal bias, we checked them out with another psychohistory class–one taught by Prof. David Beisel of Rockland Community College–who was also using the fantasy technique to monitor the media and who had also been collecting media material. They told us that they had independently been recently finding a predominance of these death wishes in cartoons and covers.[39]

The next day, one of the president's staff confirmed to the nation that assassination was "in the air." The President's most excitable aide, Alexander Haig, unexpectedly began to discuss in the media "who will be in charge of emergencies" should the president be shot, saying he himself would be next in line of succession, as though succession to the presidency were for some reason about to become a vital question in America. A great furor arose in the press and on TV talk shows as to just who would be "in charge" should the President be incapacitated. That the topic of succession seemed to come out of the blue was totally ignored by the media. Reagan's death just seemed to be an interesting political topic. The students grew increasingly uneasy as they watched the escalating fantasy.

The class wondered if potential assassins might not also be sensing these subliminal messages, since there are always a large number of psychopathic personalities around the country waiting to be told when and whom to shoot, willing to be the delegate of the nation's death wishes. Some students wondered if we should phone the Secret Service and warn them about our fears, but thought they might consider a bunch of cartoons and magazine covers insufficient cause for concern.

The class was not wrong about a potential assassin picking up the death wishes and electing himself our delegate. John Hinckley had been stalking President Carter, President-elect Reagan and other political targets during the previous six months, but just couldn't "get himself into the right frame of mind to actually carry out the act," as he later put it. After all the media death wishes toward Reagan appeared, he finally got what he called "a signal from a newspaper" on March 30th and told himself, "This is it, this is for me," and, he said, decided at that moment to shoot the president.[40]

I was sitting in our classroom, waiting for the students to arrive, looking over some of the Reagan death wish material we had collected. I had been busy during the past few hours and hadn't listened to the radio before coming to class. Suddenly, I heard a group of students running down the hallway. They burst into the room. "Prof. deMause!" they shouted, terribly upset. "They did it! They shot him! Just like we were afraid they would!"[41]

Chapter 2: The Gulf War as a Mental Disorder

"He's going to get his ass kicked"
George Bush

Not every American president has been able to resist his nation's call for war. Studies have shown the main determinant is the kind of childhood the president has experienced.[1] Jimmy Carter was unusual in being able to draw upon his having had fairly loving parents, in particular a mother who encouraged his individuality and independence, a very unusual quality for a parent in the 1920s.[2] It is no coincidence that when I once collected all the childhood photos I could find of American presidents I noticed that only those of Jimmy Carter and Dwight Eisenhower (another president who resisted being drawn into war) showed their mothers smiling.

Ronald Reagan's childhood, in contrast, was more like that of most presidents: a nightmare of neglect and abuse, in his case dominated by an obsessively religious mother and a violent, alcoholic father who, he said, used to "kick him with his boot" and "clobber" him and his brother.[3] The result, as I have documented in my book, Reagan's America, was a childhood of phobias and fears "to the point of hysteria," buried feelings of rage and severe castration anxieties (the title of his autobiography was Where Is The Rest of Me?). As an adult, Reagan took to carrying a loaded pistol, and once considered suicide, only to be saved by the defensive maneuver of taking up politics and becoming an anti-communist warrior, crusading against imaginary "enemies" who were blamed for the feelings he denied in himself.[4]

THE PRESIDENTIAL STYLE OF GEORGE BUSH

George Bush's childhood, though not as chaotic as Reagan's, was also full of fear and punishments. Psychohistorian Suzy Kane, interviewing George's brother, Prescott, Jr., discovered that Bush's father often beat him on the buttocks with a belt or a razor strap, the anticipation of which, Prescott, Jr. recalled, made them "quiver" with fear.[5] "He took us over his knee and whopped us with his belt," Prescott said. "He had a strong arm, and boy, did we feel it."[6] As he admitted to Kane, "We were all scared of him. We were scared to death of Dad when we were younger." Childhood classmates of George described his father as "aloof and distant…formidable and stern…very austere and not a warm person." "Dad was really scary," George himself once admitted.[7] As a result, a desperate need to please was George's main trait as a child, and a depressive personality with an overwhelming need to placate became his trademarks as president.

The mood of America as Bush ran for the presidency was also quite depressed, which favored his election over his less depressed opponent. During the Eighties, in what was often misnamed "A Decade of Indulgence," America had had an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity,

the latter based mainly on manic spending binges on the military and on financial speculation, both financed by borrowing.[8] As will be shown, manic periods such as these usually climax in wars. In 1989, however, America's traditional enemy, the Soviet Union, had collapsed, and a period of unprecedented world peace without any real enemies had "broken out all over," as Newsweek put it.[9] Soon after the end of the Evil Empire, both America and Europe were plunged into depression. Beisel summarized the feeling:

The New York Times speaks of "An Empty Feeling…Infecting Eastern Europe." An authority on Britain finds the British undergoing "self-doubt and self-humiliation…greater now than at any time…over the last thirty years." The cover of the World Press Review speaks of "Germany's Reunified Blues"…Europe is depressed. Just three years ago, Germans were "delirious in the days before and after reunification," said Current History. "A couple of months later, their euphoria had turned to gloom."[10]

America, too, felt just terrible after the downfall of the Berlin Wall. "Democracy is winning," said The New York Times on March 4, 1990. "The arms race is over. Villains are friendly now…the jackpot so long desired was America's. So then why doesn't it feel better?"[11] Everywhere were predictions of doom, decline and the death of the American dream. The media wondered why, despite the fact that world peace had been achieved and the American economy was expanding, "People are incredibly depressed" (The New York Times), "In the past month, there has been a distinct odor of collapse and doom around the city," (New York Post), and "There is something catastrophic coming" (Washington Post).[12] With no foreign enemy into whom we could project our fears, America had only one choice to end its feelings of depression: have a sacrificial economic recession that would punish ourselves and our families for our peace and prosperity.

One reason for Bush's election was his oft-stated statement that "we must all sacrifice."[13] With the economy still expanding during 1989 and 1990, he unconsciously realized that he had to do something dramatic to stop this growth by making people feel even more depressed, so they would stop buying goods and making investments and thereby precipitate an economic downturn. His own mood had been affected by the guilty messages the media was repeating daily, as well as by his taking Halcion, a mind-altering drug that could make users so depressed and/or manic they became suicidal.[14]

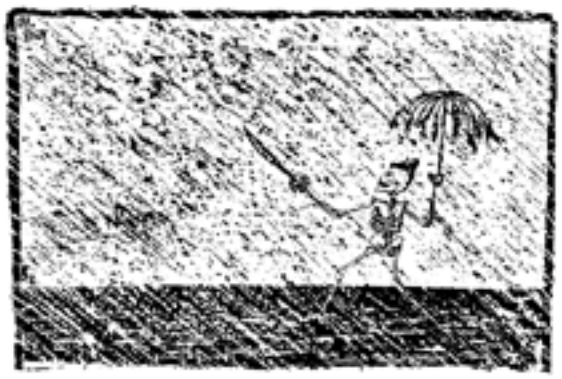
Bush's prescription for America was to make it feel depressed by raising taxes, cutting spending and repeatedly vetoing all the legislation that was needed to keep the economy moving forward. Just as Presidents did before previous recessions, Bush produced an economic downturn by raising taxes and reducing spending, costing jobs and destroying consumer demand. Although he knew that a big tax increase would make him unpopular[15] and would violate the promise he made in his "Read my lips: no new taxes" acceptance speech, at a deeper level he was giving the nation the punishment it unconsciously wanted. As it turned out, the real revenue finally produced by the higher tax rates during the recession turned out to be much less than if rates had stayed the same.[16] Therefore, it was a recession, not additional tax revenue, that was the unconscious motive for the tax-increase package, a recession needed to "purge the rottenness out of the system," as one Bush official had put it.[17]

PEACE, PROSPERITY AND POLLUTION

That personal achievement and prosperity often makes individuals feel sinful and unworthy of their success is a commonplace observation of psychotherapy ever since Freud's first case studies of people "ruined by success."[18] Yet no one seems to have noticed that feelings of sinfulness are usually prominent in the shared emotional life of nations after long periods of peace, prosperity and social progress, particularly if they are accompanied by more personal and sexual freedom.[19] As early as 1988, American political and business leaders had begun to wonder if the Reagan prosperity had not lasted too long, and some called for a cleansing recession. The Federal Reserve, pleased that their interest rate increase in the summer of 1987 had produced the sharpest one-day drop in the stock market in history, tightened rates again in the summer of 1988 in order to get the recession going, under the rationalization they had to "cool the economy down" the usual code for "reduce the guilt for too much success." As one perceptive reporter described the plan in 1988, "After the election, the leadership of this country will say to the Fed, 'Go ahead and tighten [the money supply] boys.' The Federal Reserve tightens, interest rates rise, the economy slows. Then they will tell the next president and Congress to raise taxes…It scares me."[20]

2:1 America felt sinful after the peace and prosperity of the 1980s

As my previous studies have shown,[21] the image of national sinfulness is usually pictured in political cartoons as pollution. Each time a nation feels too prosperous for its deprived childhood to tolerate, it imagines that it is sinful, and a national "pollution alert" is called, where the media suddenly notices such things as environmental pollution (acid rain), home pollution (dioxin) or blood pollution (AIDS)-all of which existed in reality before, but now suddenly became symbols in a fantasy of inner pollution (sin, guilt). What happens in these emotional "pollution alerts" is that the media stops overlooking real dangers, raises hysterical alarms about how the world has suddenly become unsafe to live in, and then avoids really changing anything-since the pollution that is frightening the nation is actually internal, not external.[22]



2:2 America felt polluted in 1988

The banking community's role in 1988-9 in bringing about what the media began calling "the slump we need"[23] was to reduce the money supply, raise interest rates and reduce lending. The Fed announced that they would like to push inflation "near zero," a goal that has never been achieved by any nation in history without a punishing depression. The central bank's usual role in killing prosperity was revealed earlier by Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker, who, trying to make a joke, told a reporter that the secret of central bankers everywhere was that "we have a haunting fear that someone, someplace may be happy."[24]

Many reporters recognized the depressive origins of the national mood and even the guilt that engendered it. The Washington Post said that after eight years of optimism, "America is in…an ugly spasm of guilt, dread and nostalgia. Once more, America is depressed."[25] A columnist accurately diagnosed the mood of America in 1990:

America is like a barroom drunk. One minute it brags about its money and muscle, and then for the next hour it bleats into its beer about failure and hopelessness…America's depression is not brought on by plague, flood, famine or war…We are guilty, guilty, guilty…depression, decline, depravity, dysphoria, deconstruction, desuetude, dog days, distrust, drugs, despair…"[26]

There was only one way that a lengthy economic recession need not be necessary to cure our national depression: an enemy abroad could be created who could be blamed for our "greediness" and then punished instead of punishing ourselves.

At first blush, the idea of America starting a war for emotional reasons seems blasphemous. Although most people are familiar with the notion that homicidal acts of individuals stem from underlying emotional disorders, it is rare for anyone to inquire into whether wars-homicidal acts of entire nations-might stem from shared mental disorders. Unless they are blamed on the emotional problems of one leader, like Hitler, wars are usually explained by economic motivations. But if this were true, one should be able to find in the words and actions of leaders about to begin wars discussions of the economic benefits of the proposed war, yet this is precisely what is missing in the historical documents. Instead, wars regularly start with images of suicide. For example, when the Japanese leadership was deciding whether to attack Pearl Harbor and begin their war with the United States, several ministers were asked by Tojo to study what would happen if they attacked America. At a meeting, each minister around the table forecast

defeat by the U.S., and by the time the last minister gave his assessment, it was obvious that an attack would be suicidal for Japan. Whereupon Tojo told those present, "There are times when we must have the courage to do extraordinary things-like jumping, with eyes closed, off the veranda of the Kiyomizu Temple! [This was the Tokyo temple where people regularly committed suicide.]"[27] Hitler, too, spoke in suicidal, not economic, imagery as he went to war,[28] promising Germans glorious death on the battlefield and calling himself a "sleepwalker" as he led the German people over the suicidal cliff. This is how real wars begin.

All the historical evidence suggests that there were strong irrational reasons in America's decision to go to war in the Gulf in 1991. To begin with, the President had earlier floated a trial balloon for the acceptability of a military solution to the nation's emotional problems by sending 25,000 U.S. troops to Panama, ostensibly to capture Manuel Noriega for his role in drug trade. Although the Panama invasion seemed to the military an embarrassment, calling it ridiculous because "the whole goddam operation depends on finding one guy in a bunker,"[29] the American people loved the show, Bush's polls went up and permission was given for future military action.

Yet preparing for a new sacrificial war first and foremost requires avoiding the guilt for starting it; even Hitler thought it necessary to dress up some of his soldiers in Polish uniforms and have them pretend to attack Germans so he could present an excuse for his invasion of Poland. America, in its own mind, had never attacked another country at any time in its history; it had only defended itself or rescued others who were being attacked. So when the nation's depressed mood deepened in 1990, Bush's task was to find someone who was willing to start a war against a weaker country so America could come to their rescue in a liberating war that would make us feel better again.

THE SACRIFICE OF CHILDREN

Meanwhile, American magazine covers and political cartoons in the months before the Middle East crisis began expressing subliminal death wishes toward America's youth, suggesting that they be sacrificed. Children were shown shot, stabbed, strangled, and led off cliffs as trial fantasies for the coming war.

2:3 Child sacrifice suggestion prior to the Middle East crisis

Money magazine, writing a story on how easy it was toget into college, used as its cover illustration a wholly gratuitous drawing of a youth being stabbed by pennants with the headline: "THE SACRIFICE OF THE CHILDREN," imagery exactly opposite to the main point of the

story but accurately illustrating the main fantasy of the nation. Children were increasingly shown on covers of magazines and newspapers as being killed in "War Zones," even though homicide had actually decreased in the past decade.[30] A United Nations World Summit for Children conference was depicted in a cartoon with Bush saying that America's children deserved electrocution for being naughty.

2:4 Children were felt to be so naughty they deserved electrocution

That it was mainly the death of our own that was being suggested was made particularly clear early in 1990 by the sudden media focus on a physician who had long advocated assisted suicide and who had built a "suicide machine" to administer a lethal dose of poison. One cartoon even showed Bush himself as the "suicide doctor" suggesting that he was willing to help the nation commit suicide. The nation's mood had hit bottom. In two decades of collecting visual material, this was the first cartoon out of over 100,000 I had collected that showed a president about to kill the nation's citizens.

2:5 Bush was seen as a killing doctor

THE SPECTER OF THE TERRIFYING MOMMY

When a patient walks into a psychiatric clinic suffering from severe depression unrelated to life events and reports he has been having dreams of children being hurt and suicidal thoughts, the clinician begins to suspect a diagnosis of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. This is particularly so if-as with America in 1990-the patient has been experiencing extreme mood swings, frequent

panic attacks, exaggerated fears for the future, manic episodes of frantic spending and borrowing, drug abuse, and feelings of unreality and detachment. As these are all symptoms of PTSD, one of the first questions the psychiatrist might ask about is whether the patient has been experiencing "flashbacks" to childhood traumas, in particular if he has had intrusive images of harmful parental figures, particularly of cruel or neglectful mothers. When these fantasies are widespread-as they are prior to most wars-it is an indication of a return to the traumas of infancy, evidence that the nation is going through a PTSD-type crisis, one which can only be defended against by inflicting their fears upon enemies.

2:6 Terrifying women were featured in the media

The cartoon images and media preoccupations in America during these months show frightening female images in quantity. A bitchy, castrating Madonna dominated magazine covers. Ivanna Trump, wife of real estate magnate Donald Trump, was depicted as having castrated her estranged husband. Dozens of Fatal Attraction-type movies were currently popular, featuring cruel women who were both seductive and murderous.[31] Political cartoons proliferated featuring the biting mouths of animals. So prevalent were the media images of terrifying, castrating and engulfing mommies and the subliminal suggestions of a child sacrifice that I published an article entitled "It's Time to Sacrifice…Our Children," detailing the evidence for America's wish to sacrifice their youth and forecasting that a new military venture might be started soon to accomplish this sacrifice.[32] The article, written four months before Iraq invaded Kuwait, said:

Subliminal suggestions that children should be sacrificed have been exceptionally prevalent in American media during the past year. At our Institute for Psychohistory, we carefully analyze the kinds of images found in thousands of political cartoons and magazine covers in order to give us clues as to what our shared fantasies are about and what we are up to as a nation. What we have discovered is an upsurge in images of children being shot, stabbed, strangled, pushed off sacrificial cliffs and in general being punished for the sins of their elders.

These media images, we find, are like trial balloons for actions the nation is about to undertake but that are split off and denied because they are so repugnant to our moral sense. In fact, we have found that these images in the media are an extremely important way for the nation to share

its most powerful emotional fantasies. They resemble the repetitive dreams an individual may have-for instance, a series of dreams that their spouse might die-in that they represent wishes from deep in the unconscious.

When media images of children being sacrificed proliferate, therefore, we are floating trial balloons on a subliminal level suggesting that it is time for our children to pay for our sinful excesses during our recent Decade of Indulgence.

What I couldn't figure out at the time was this: since the Evil Empire fantasy had collapsed, who would be our enemy in our next sacrificial war?

SEARCHING FOR AN ENEMY

President Bush soon began to sense that he was being sent unconscious messages that a new war had to be found soon. His masculinity began to be questioned. He began to be pictured by cartoonists wearing a dress and was referred to more often as a "wimp." Cartoons began showing him being attacked and devoured by monsters.[33] He sensed the nation's distress and rage, and decided he had better act soon. In such a peaceful post-Cold War world, where could he find an enemy crazy enough to be willing to fight the most powerful military force on earth, yet small enough for us to defeat easily?

Since it is the task of a leader to provide enemies when required, Bush was not about to be caught short when his nation asked him to find an enemy. Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, had long been a U.S. satrap. Bush, as Vice President, had personally contacted Saddam in 1986 in a covert mission to get him to escalate the air war with Iran.[34] America had been secretly and illegally building up Iraq's military forces, including their nuclear weapons program, for over a decade, including arranging billion-dollar "loan guarantees" that the U.S. would end up paying off.[35]Secret arms transfers to Iraq, money sent to Iraq via Italian banks, official approval of U.S. exports of military equipment, even shipment of weapons from our NATO stockpiles in Germany were all part of the clandestine buildup, all illegal and all covered up by the Reagan administration.[36] Iraq, for its part, felt beholden to the U.S. As Kenneth Timmerman put it in his definitive book, The Death Lobby: How the West Armed Iraq,

The arming of Iraq was a 15-year love affair [for America]. Saddam Hussein was our creation, our monster. We built him up and then tried to take him down.[37]

Saddam Hussein, like so many dictators, had an unbelievably traumatic childhood.[38] His mother tried to abort him by hitting her abdomen with her fists and cutting herself with a kitchen knife, yelling, "In my belly I'm carrying a Satan!" She gave the infant Saddam away to his uncle, a violent man who beat the boy regularly, calling him "a son of a cur" and training him to use a gun and steal sheep. Saddam committed his first homicide at eleven. His political career centered on the murder of his fellow countrymen, and he particularly enjoyed watching the torture and execution of officers who had fought with him. Saddam would obviously make an ideal enemy to whom America could delegate the task of starting a new war so that we could remain guiltless.

In early 1990, before the Gulf crisis began, the U.S. military unexpectedly undertook four war games that rehearsed fighting Iraq, premised on their invasion of Kuwait.[39] At the same time,

Kuwait's rulers suddenly adopted a provocative stance toward Iraq, refusing to discuss outstanding issues over disputed lands and loans, an attitude that even Jordan's King Hussein called "puzzling"[40] and regarding which one Middle East expert stated that "if the Americans had not pushed, the royal family [of Kuwait] would have never taken the steps that it did to provoke Saddam."[41] In addition, the U. S. provided $3 billion in "agricultural loans" to Saddam, which he promptly used for military equipment.

A special investigative report, based on leaked documents, published by the London Observer and ignored by the rest of the world press, revealed that early in 1990 "Bush sent a secret envoy to meet with one of Hussein's top officials. According to a summary of this report,[42] "the envoy told the dictator's confidant 'that Iraq should engineer higher oil prices to get it out of its dire economic fix'…Hussein took the envoy's advice, and moved his troops to the border of Kuwait…'The evidence suggest that U.S. complicity with Saddam went far beyond miscalculation of the Iraqi leader's intentions [and included] active U.S. support for the Iraqi President'" in his military threat toward Kuwait. So overwhelming was the evidence that the U.S. financed, provided equipment for and encouraged Saddam's aggressive military venture that Al Gore, when running for Vice President, said, "Bush wants the American people to see him as the hero who put out a raging fire. But new evidence now shows that he is the one who set the fire. He not only struck the match, he poured gasoline on the flames."[43]

Saddam reacted predictably to Bush's encouragement, publicly threatened to use force against Kuwait and moved his troops to the border. To be certain he had U.S. backing for the invasion, he then summoned U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie to his office and asked her what Washington's position was on his dispute with Kuwait. Glaspie, acting on Bush's cable of the previous day, gave Saddam the barely disguised go-ahead by saying that "the President had instructed her to broaden and deepen our relations with Iraq" and to deliver America's warm sympathy with his problems. She then stated, "We have no opinion on Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait….[Secretary of State] James Baker has directed our official spokesmen to emphasize this instruction."[44] Senior Pentagon officials had feared Bush's cabled instructions would send a signal that it was all right with the U.S. if Iraq invaded Kuwait.[45] "This stinks," one said about the cable. But Bush had prevented a Pentagon effort to draft a sterner message that might have shown American opposition to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Just in case there was any question about the American signal to Hussein, on July 31, after Iraqi forces had moved fuel and ammunition to front-line Iraqi military units on Kuwait's border, Assistant Secretary of State Kelly was asked at a public House subcommittee hearing what would happen "if Iraq…charged across the border into Kuwait, for whatever reason, what would our position be with regard to the use of U.S. forces?" Kelly first replied, "I cannot get into the realm of 'what if' answers." Then, when the Congressman asked, "Is it correct to say, however, that we do not have a treaty commitment which would obligate us to engage U.S. forces?" Kelly replied, "That is correct."[46] Yet General Norman Schwarzkopf had been planning and practicing through war games for nearly a year a massive attack by U.S. forces in case of Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.[47] Nevertheless, the green light was given to Saddam that an attack on Kuwait would not be countered by the U.S.

On August 2, Iraq invaded Kuwait.

THE GULF WAR AS TRAUMATIC REENACTMENT

Because it takes time for unconscious fantasies to become linked up with reality, Iraq's invasion of Kuwait went almost unnoticed at first. The day of the invasion, The Washington Post reported it in an unemotional article in a single column on the lower half of the page. Bush himself took a while to become conscious of his opportunity to go to war and initially saw no urgency to intervene, saying, "We're not discussing intervention. I'm not contemplating such action."[48] It was not until Bush met the next day with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Aspen, Colorado that he recognized he must turn the Iraqi invasion into an American war, Thatcher telling him that he was Churchill, Saddam was Hitler, and Kuwait was Czechoslovakia.[49] After Mrs. Thatcher told Bush Saddam was "evil," he reversed his opinion; as one Thatcher adviser put it, "The Prime Minister performed a successful backbone transplant" on Bush.[50] Bush abruptly appeared on TV and told Americans they had to "stand up to evil," proclaimed a policy of "absolutely no negotiations" with Iraq, and ordered American troops and planes into the Middle East.

America felt reinvigorated to once again have an enemy to lift it out of its depression. "We've felt bad for months," said one commentator. "Suddenly we feel like we have a purpose….Americans like action."[51] The New Republic agreed, saying, "Saddam Hussein did the world a favor by invading Kuwait," since it provided us relief from our depression.[52] "Thanks, Saddam. We Needed That" another reporter headlined his column on the Iraqi invasion.[53] Our shared emotions in a maelstrom, we would become a "Desert Storm" to live out our fears and rage.

Bush's rationalizations about his reasons for going to war shifted with the desert sands, first saying it was about "our jobs," then "our way of life" and then "our freedom."[54] The real reason was a psychological one: we would cure ourselves of our depression and flashbacks of punitive mommies by inflicting the punishment we felt we deserved upon other people's children.

2:7 Saddam Hussein as Terrifying Mommy

Children were the real emotional focus of the Gulf War from the very start. While the images of terrifying American mommies completely disappeared from cartoons and magazine covers, we instead projected them into Saddam Hussein, and he was pictured as a terrifying parent, a "child abuser" who liked to kill children.

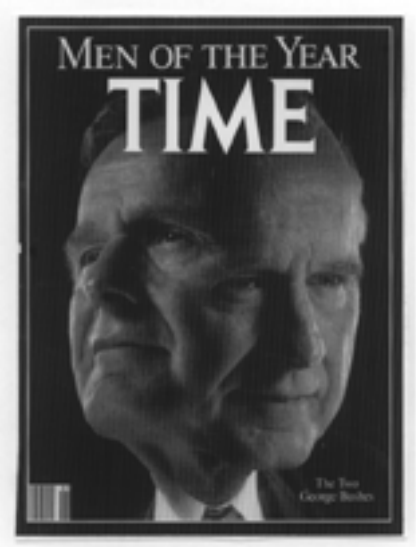
The "child killer" theme was soon spread by the media. Particularly convincing was a wholly invented story told by a 15-year-old girl, who testified before the Security Council and Congress

that a surgeon in Kuwait had seen Iraqi soldiers taking hundreds of babies from incubators, "leaving them on the cold floor to die."[55] None of those hearing this testimony and none of the hundreds of reporters who swallowed the story thought to check out any of its details, since it confirmed the nation's unconscious fantasies that they shared. It wasn't until after the war ended that it was revealed that the "surgeon" and the girl had used false names and identities, that the girl was really the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to the U.S.-a fact known to the organizers of the meeting-and that the story was completely fabricated, as were other stories of mass rape and torture by Iraqis.[56] But we needed stories of child abuse. We were about to reenact our childhood traumas, just as Post-Traumatic Stress patients often hurt their children or themselves in order to achieve temporary relief from their inner emotional distress. We therefore had to objectify our fantasies of terrifying mommies and hurt children in order to prepare ourselves for starting the war.

WAR AS RENEWAL THROUGH RITUAL COMBAT

The Gulf War was hardly the first to be started by creating an enemy and then engaging in combat with him. America has a long history of going to war with dictators it has previously armed.[57] The goal was national renewal through combat, as in early civilizations, where, when countries felt depressed, "polluted," they often openly arranged battles in order to "cleanse" themselves and "rebirth" their sinful people.[58] The Aztecs, for instance, would periodically decide that they had become polluted and would set up "Flower Wars," dividing their own armies into two sides and fighting a Cosmic Battle between them in order to revitalize their country. During this ritual combat, they not only slaughtered thousands to assuage their bloodthirsty female goddess an early version of the Terrifying Mommy but they also took victorious warriors from the battle and ripped out their hearts in a ritual blood sacrifice to the goddess.[59]

War in early civilizations often began by making the leader undergo a ritual humiliation, the purpose of which was to symbolically reenact the humiliation that they had experienced as children. The Babylonian king, for instance, would be slapped on the face, forced to kneel in abasement before a sacred image and made to confess his sinfulness.[60] In America, in the months prior to the Gulf war, President Bush was forced to undergo a similar humiliation ritual by being called a "wimp" (the national cartoonist Oliphant pictured Bush in cartoons wearing a woman's purse on his limp wrist) before he could regain his lost masculinity by going to war. At the end of 1989, Time magazine even showed him on their cover as two George Bushes, one strong and one weak-a device identical to that used by early societies who appointed a "double" of the king before wars in order to represent his weaker half and to emphasize his strong and weak aspects.[61]



2:8 George Bush as a "double," both a strong leader and a weak leader

The sacrificial war ritual, then, had three main elements:

(1) A sinful, polluted world, with a leader who is depicted as becoming more and more impotent in containing the nation's depressed, angry feelings,
(2) Terrifying mommy fantasies, with images of angry goddesses threatening to devour the country unless a ritual sacrificial victim is provided, and
(3) Sacrificial child victims, whose blood will revitalize the country's emotional life and who ultimately represent the "guilty" child who was the victim of the original traumas.

Elements of these childhood traumas can be seen in the Gulf War. Since George Bush had been beaten on his posterior during childhood, he threatened to "kick the ass" of Saddam Hussein. Many Americans, who had also had their posteriors beaten during childhood,[62] multiplied the image: "Kick Ass" T-shirts, flags and belt buckles flooded the country; Americans told reporters they wanted to "whip that guy's butt" and "get him with his britches down"; and cartoons showed the U.N. building decorated with the words "KICK BUTT."[63]

Saddam Hussein, for his part, saw the coming war in terms of the typical childhood traumas he and his countrymen had experienced. For instance, most male Iraqis endured a bloody, terrifying circumcision around the age of six, and Saddam used metaphors that reflected fears of bloody castration, saying that it was Iraq's mission to "return the branch, Kuwait, to the root, Iraq" and vowing Americans would be made to "swim in their own blood."[64] It was his mission, he said, to return to Iraq "the part that was cut off by English scissors."[65]

Both nations saw the war as a sacred combat between Good and Evil. Iraq said that Americans had "desecrated Mecca" and that the war would "purify our souls" in a "showdown… between Good and Evil."[66] U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz, as he led the pro-war forces in the vote for invasion, said, "There is Evil in the world." [67] The conflict certainly wasn't about economics; the U.S. spends $50 billion a year to maintain its military in the Gulf, while only importing $15

billion a year from the area.[68] The war and embargo were for purely internal emotional purposes, not economic. Like most modern nations, America had gone to war once every two decades, and it had been two decades since the Vietnam War. Since war was an addiction, an emotional disorder, America had to have a new war to clean out the progress and prosperity of the 1980s, and Saddam had provided a willing enemy to give us the feeling of being cleansed, reborn.

Bush told the country it was fighting for a "New World Order" that would produce a "New Era of Peace" everywhere in the world. Americans interviewed before the invasion told reporters, "The course of history has changed…I don't know exactly what that means, but I know things are going to be different…The country had crossed a threshold…This [is] one of those events that marks the end of an old era and the start of a new one."[69]Like the ancient societies, America fantasized the world would be reborn through human sacrifice.

Since sacrificial rituals are scripted by God, they have a compulsive quality that make them feel like they are inevitable and out of the hands of those carrying them out. Although some Americans who had had better childhoods-including Jimmy Carter and Chief of Staff General Colin Powell[70] thought sanctions should be given a chance before starting the war, Bush rejected proposals from Gorbachev and Saddam agreeing to remove Iraqi troops from Kuwait in exchange for a pledge to leave Saddam in power.[71] Even though this was precisely what the war accomplished, a peaceful solution was unacceptable. "There was always an inevitability about this," Bush said as he gave the order for invasion. On the first night of the war, he was reported as "watching the nation go to war-almost exactly following his script-as he sat in a little study off the Oval Office, clicking his TV remote control…[He] calmly remarked: 'Just the way it was scheduled.'"[72] America began the war by dropping 88,000 tons of bombs on Iraq, seventy percent of them missing their targets and killing civilians.[73] One veteran newsman at NBC was fired for trying to report the slaughter of Iraqi civilians.[74] Illegal fuel air explosives which before the war the press feared Saddam would use against Americans were exclusively and widely used by American troops on both military and civilian areas.[75]

2:9 Americans felt reborn by war

Americans watched B-52s carpet bomb whole cities on TV, entranced literally in a trance devouring images of missiles going down air intakes, hospitals blown up, water reservoirs and filtration plants being destroyed and schools being demolished.[76] Soldiers said it was like "shooting fish in a barrel."[77] Despite efforts to deny the reality of the killing by calling the carpet bombings "surgical strikes" and tens of thousands of mangled Iraqi civilian bodies "collateral

damage," the Pentagon later admitted it massively targeted civilian structures, in order, they said, "to demoralize the populace."[78] The dissociation in our heads, however, was almost complete. We were killing people, but they weren't real. One TV reporter told us after the first eight thousand sorties had pulverized Iraqi civilian areas, "Soon we'll have to stop the air war and start killing human beings,"[79]Rivited to our TV sets in our war trance, we found it had "an eerie, remote-control quality…it seemed that we were watching a war about technology…"[80] or a scene out of the movie Star Wars, with Luke Skywalker blasting Darth Vader bunkers with high-tech laser bombs that only destroyed machines, not people.

The human carnage revived the nation. Bush's approval rating soared. Oliphant drew a cartoon of Bush's woman's handbag being "retired into the closet" in honor of his role as a potent war leader. Political cartoons were joyful, showing Americans holding hands and dancing while bombs fell on the enemy. Continuing the acting-out of the "kick ass" fantasy, one cartoon on Valentine's Day showed an American missile about to hit a terrified Saddam Hussein in the rear. Restaging of our childhood traumas with others as victims was very exciting.

The war was vicious, as promised. In 43 days of war plus the years of embargo afterward, America achieved what the U.N. termed "the near apocalyptic destruction" of Iraq. Starting with 42 days of bombing, there were 110,000 aerial sorties, the equivalent of seven Hiroshima bombs. Over 120,000 soldiers were killed plus over 1,000,000 children[81] most of whom died of malnutrition and epidemics caused by our systematic targeting of Iraqi irrigation canals and food-proceesing plants and of our continuing embargo, a genocidal violation of the Geneva Convention, which prohibits the starvation of civilians.[82] Killing civilians though claimed as something America explicitely avoids doing is actually an American specialty, from the genocide of Native Americans (almost all innocent civilians) to the bombing of Hiroshima (totally civilians).

After 100 billion dollars wasted killing Iraqis, we found we hadn't killed the "evil" Saddam at all in fact, Bush elected to pull back from pursuing him supposedly to "provide a counterweight" against other countries. We had mainly killed innocent women and children, representatives of the Dangerous Mommies and Bad Children in our own unconscious minds. We had merged with the perpetrators of our childhood traumas, cleaned out the buried violence in our heads, and as a result of our ghastly human sacrifice of the innocent we felt much better about ourselves as a nation.[83]

Empathy for the innocent dead was totally missing. We didn't even notice the genocide of children was happening. The civilians who died were, of course, not just "collateral damage," since, according to one authority, "the Pentagon has admitted it targeted civilian structures both to demoralize the populace and exacerbate the effects of sanctions."[84] As a result, five years later water was polluted, garbage had to be dumped into the streets and hospitals were nearly inoperative. An estimated 1,000,000 to 6,000,000 more Iraqis would eventually die, according to the Atomic Energy Authority again mostly children both from the embargo and from the effects over decades of American use of depleted uranium wastes in the 65,000 uranium-tipped missiles that were fired.[85] Those children still alive despite our genocidal efforts were reported by War Watch as being "the most traumatized children of war ever described."[86] The war had accomplished our purpose. America held a massive victory parade, and the President told the

American people that "the darker side of human nature" had been defeated more accurately, the darker side of our own psyche had been restaged-assuring us that our nation had entered a New World Order.

The sacrificial ritual had been carried out exactly as planned: by a genocide of women and children. The nation had been cleansed of its emotional pollution. The president's popularity rating rose to 91 percent, the highest of any American leader in history. The stock market soared. "Bush…restored America's can-do spirit….It felt good to win."[87] The country had been united by slaughter as it had never been by any positive achievement. Editorials across the country congratulated the President on his having "defeated Evil," and speculated on what the New World Order would look like and when it might begin. The victors no longer felt depressed. America's twenty-eighth war-perhaps mankind's millionth-had again restored our potency. We felt as if we had been reborn.

Chapter 3: The Childhood Origins of Terrorism

"He who washes my body around my genitals should wear gloves
so that I am not touched there."
The Will of Mohammed Atta

Because so much of the world outside the West has for historical reasons fallen behind in the evolution of their childrearing modes, the resulting vast differences between national personality types has recently turned into a global battle of terrorism against liberal Western values. In order to understand this new battle, it would be useful to know what makes a terrorist—what developmental life histories they share that can help us see why they want to kill "American infidels" and themselves—so we can apply our efforts to removing the sources of their violence and preventing terrorism in the future. The roots of current terrorist attacks lie, I believe, not in this or that American foreign policy error but in the extremely abusive families of the terrorists. Children who grow up to be Islamic terrorists are products of a misogynist fundamentalist system that often segregates the family into two separate areas: the men's area and the woman's area, where the children are brought up and which the father rarely visits.[1] Even in countries like Saudi Arabia today, women by law cannot mix with unrelated men, and public places still have separate women's areas in restaurants and work places, because, as one Muslim sociologist put it bluntly: "In our society there is no relationship of friendship between a man and a woman."[2] Families that produce the most terrorists are the most violently misogynist; in Afghanistan, for instance, girls cannot attend schools and women who try to hold jobs or who seem to "walk with pride" are shot.[3]

Young girls are treated abominably in most fundamentalist families. When a boy is born, the family rejoices; when a girl is born, the whole family mourns.[4] The girl's sexuality is so hated that when she is five or so the women grab her, pin her down, and chop off her clitoris and often her labia with a razor blade or piece of glass, ignoring her agony and screams for help, because, they say, her clitoris is "dirty," "ugly," "poisonous," "can cause a voracious appetite for promiscuous sex," and "might render men impotent."[5] The area is then often sewed up to prevent intercourse, leaving only a tiny hole for urination. The genital mutilation is excruciatingly painful. Up to a third die from infections, mutilated women must "shuffle slowly and painfully" and usually are unable to orgasm.[6] Over 130 million genitally mutilated women are estimated to live today in Islamic nations, from Somali, Nigeria and Sudan to Egypt, Ethiopia, and Pakistan. A recent survey of Egyptian girls and women, for instance, showed 97 percent of uneducated families and 66 percent of educated families still practicing female genital mutilation.[7] Although some areas have mostly given up the practice, in others—like Sudan and Uganda—it is increasing, with 90% of the women surveyed saying they planned to circumcise all of their daughters.[8]

The mutilation is not required by the Qu´an; Mohammad, in fact, said girls should be treated even better than boys.[9] Yet the women have inflicted upon their daughters for millennia the horrors done to them, re-enacting the abuse men inflict on them as they mutilate their daughters while joyfully chanting songs such as this:

"We used to be friends, but today I am the master, for I am a man. Look—I have the knife in my hand…Your clitoris, I will cut it off and throw it away for today I am a man."[10]

As the girls grow up in these fundamentalist families, they are usually treated as though they were polluted beings, veiled, and sometimes gang-raped when men outside the family wish to settle scores with men in her family.[11] Studies such as a recent survey of Palestinian students show that the sexual abuse of girls is far higher in Islamic societies than elsewhere, with a large majority of all girls reporting that they had been sexually molested as children.[12] Even marriage can be considered rape, since the family often chooses the partner and the girl is as young as eight.[13]The girl is often blamed for her rape, since it is assumed that "those who don't ask to be raped will never be raped."[14] Wife-beating is common and divorce by wives rare—in fact, women have been killed by their families simply because they asked for a divorce.[15] It is no wonder that Physicians for Human Rights found, for instance, that "97 percent of Afghan women they surveyed suffered from severe depression."[16]

It is not surprising that these mutilated, battered women make less than ideal mothers, reinflicting their own miseries upon their children. Visitors to families throughout fundamentalist Muslim societies report on the "slapping, striking, whipping and thrashing" of children, with constant shaming and humiliation, often being told by their mothers that they are "cowards" if they don't hit others.[17] Physical abuse of children is continuous; as the Pakistani Conference on Child Abuse reports:

A large number of children face some form of physical abuse, from infanticide and abandonment of babies, to beating, shaking, burning, cutting, poisoning, holding under water or giving drugs or alcohol, or violent acts like punching, kicking, biting, choking, beating, shooting or stabbing…[18]

Islamic schools regularly practice corporal punishment—particularly the religious schools from which terrorist volunteers so often come—chaining up their students for days "in dark rooms with little food and hardly any sanitation."[19] Sexual abuse—described as including "fondling of genitals, coercing a child to fondle the abuser's genitals, masturbation with the child as either participant or observer, oral sex, anal or vaginal penetration by penis, finger or any other object and [child] prostitution"—is extensive, though impossible to quantify.[20] Even mothers have been reported as often "rubbing the penis [of their boys] long and energetically to increase its size."[21] According to the recent survey of Palestinian students, boys report having been used sexually even more often than girls—men choosing to rape little boys anally to avoid what they consider the "voracious vaginas" of women.[22] In some areas, children are reported to have marks all over their bodies from being burned by their parents with red-hot irons or pins as punishment or to cure being possessed by demons.[23] Children are taught strict obedience to all parental commands, stand when their parents enter the room, kiss their hands, don't laugh "excessively," fear them immensely, and learn that giving in to any of their own needs or desires is horribly

sinful.[24] All these childrearing practices are very much like those that were routinely inflicted upon children in the medieval West.[25]

The ascetic results of such punitive upbringings are predictable. When these abused children grow up, they feel that every time they try to self-activate, every time they do something independently for themselves, they will lose the approval of the parents in their heads—mainly their mothers and grandmothers in the women's quarters. When their cities were flooded with oil money and Western popular culture in recent decades, fundamentalist men were first attracted to the new freedoms and pleasures, but soon retreated, feeling they would lose their mommy's approval and be "Bad Boys." Westerners came to represent their own "Bad Boy" self in projection, and had to be killed off, as they felt they themselves deserved, for such unforgivable sins as listening to music, flying kites and enjoying sex.[26] As one fundamentalist put it, "America is Godless. Western influence here is not a good thing, our people can see CNN, MTV, kissing…"[27] Another described his motives thusly: "We will destroy American cities piece by piece because your life style is so objectionable to us, your pornographic movies and TV."[28] Many agree with the Iranian Ministry of Culture that all American television programs "are part of an extensive plot to wipe out our religious and sacred values,"[29] and for this reason feel they must kill Americans. Sayyid Qutb, the intellectual father of Islamic terrorism, describes how he turned against the West as he once watched a church dance while visiting America:

"Every young man took the hand of a young woman. And these were the young men and women who had just been singing their hymns! The room became a confusion of feet and legs: arms twisted around hips; lips met lips; chests pressed together."[30]

Osama bin Laden himself "while in college frequented flashy nightclubs, casinos and bars [and] was a drinker and womanizer," but soon felt extreme guilt for his sins and began preaching killing Westerners for their freedoms and their sinful enticements of Muslims.[31] Most of the Taliban leaders, in fact, are wealthy, like bin Laden, have had contact with the West, and were shocked into their terrorist violence by "the personal freedoms and affluence of the average citizen, by the promiscuity, and by the alcohol and drug use of Western youth …only an absolute and unconditional return to the fold of conservative Islamism could protect the Muslim world from the inherent dangers and sins of the West."[32] Bin Laden left his life of pleasures, and has lived with his four wives and fifteen children in a small cave with no running water, waging a holy war against all those who enjoy sinful activities and freedoms that he cannot allow in himself.

From childhood, then, Islamist terrorists have been taught to kill the part of themselves—and, by projection, others—that is selfish and wants personal pleasures and freedoms. It is in the terror-filled homes—not just later in the terrorist training camps—that they first learn to be martyrs and to "die for Allah." When the terrorist suicidal bombers who were prevented from carrying out their acts were interviewed on TV, they said they felt "ecstatic" as they pushed the button.[33] They denied being motivated by the virgins and other enticements supposedly awaiting them in Paradise. Instead, they said they wanted to die to join Allah—to get the love they never got. Mothers of martyrs are reported as happy that they die. One mother of a Palestinian suicide bomber who had blown himself to bits said "with a resolutely cheerful countenance,

"I was very happy when I heard. To be a martyr, that's something. Very few people can do it. I prayed to thank God. I know my son is close to me."[34]

Like serial killers—who are also sexually and physically abused as children—terrorists grow up filled with a rage that must be inflicted upon others. Many even preach violence against other Middle Eastern nations like Egypt and Saudi Arabia "for not being sufficiently fervent in the campaign against materialism and Western values."[35] If prevention rather than revenge is our goal, rather than pursuing a lengthy military war against terrorists and killing many innocent people while increasing the number of future terrorists, it might be better for the U.S. to back a U.N.-sponsored Marshall Plan for them—one that could include Community Parenting Centers run by local people who could teach more humane childrearing practices[36]—in order to give them the chance to evolve beyond the abusive family system that has produced the terrorism, just as we provided a Marshall Plan for Germans after WWII for the families that had produced Nazism.[37]

Chapter 4: Restaging Early Traumas in War and Social Violence

"A just war for the true interests of the state advances
its development within a few years by tens of years,
stimulates all healthy elements and represses insidious poison."
Adolf Lasson

When Adolf Hitler moved to Vienna in 1907 at the age of eighteen, he reported in Mein Kampf, he haunted the prostitutes' district, fuming at the "Jews and foreigners" who directed the "revolting vice traffic" which "defiled our inexperienced young blond girls" and injected "poison" into the bloodstream of Germany.[1]

Months before this blood poison delusion was formed, Hitler had the only romantic infatuation of his youth, with a young girl, Stefanie.[2] Hitler imagined that Stefanie was in love with him (although in reality she had never met him) and thought he could communicate with her via mental telepathy. He was so afraid of approaching her that he made plans to kidnap her and then murder her and commit suicide in order to join with her in death.

Hitler's childhood had been so abusive-his father regularly beat him "with a hippopotamus whip," once enduring 230 blows of his father's cane and another time nearly killed by his father's whipping[3] that he was full of rage toward the world. When he grew up, his sexual feelings were so mixed up with his revenge fantasies that he believed his sperm was poisonous and might enter the woman's bloodstream during sexual intercourse and poison her.[4]

Hitler's rage against "Jewish blood-poisoners" was, therefore, a projection of his own fears that he might become a blood-poisoner. Faced with the temptation of the more permissive sexuality of Vienna, he wanted to have sex with women, but was afraid his sperm would poison their blood. He then projected his own sexual desires into Jews- "The black-haired Jewboy lies in wait for hours, satanic joy in his face, for the unsuspecting girl"[5] and ended up accusing Jews of being "world blood-poisoners" who "introduced foreign blood into our people's body."[6]

As is usually the case with delusional systems, Hitler's projection of his fears of his own poisonous sexuality into Jews and foreigners helped him avoid a psychotic breakdown and allowed him to function during his later life. He admitted this quite specifically in Mein Kampf, saying that when he "recognized the Jew as the cold-hearted, shameless, and calculating director of this revolting traffic in the scum of the big city, a cold shudder ran down my back . . . the scales dropped from my eyes. A long soul struggle had reached its conclusion."[7] From that moment on, Hitler became a professional anti-Semite, ordering Nazi doctors to find out how Jewish blood differed from Aryan blood, having his own blood regularly sucked by leeches to try to get rid of its "poison,"[8] giving speeches full of metaphors of blood poisoning and of Jews sucking people's blood out and, eventually, ordering the extermination of all "world blood-poisoners" in the worst genocide and the most destructive war ever experienced by mankind.

The success of Hitler's ability to use anti-Semitism to save his sanity was dependent, of course, upon there being millions of followers who shared his fantasies about poisonous enemies infecting the body of Europe. Much of Europe at that time shared Hitler's experience of a severely abusive childhood,[9] and many shared his fantasy that the ills of the modern world were caused by the poisonous nature of Jews.[10] When he used metaphors of blood in his speeches, saying the world was a constant warfare of one people against another, where "one creature drinks the blood of another," and that Jews were spiders that "sucked the people's blood out," he was cheered on by millions who shared his fantasies.[11]

GROUP-FANTASIES OF POISON BLOOD

In studying the shared fantasies of nations connected with how it feels to be part of a group at a particular historical moment-what I have termed historical group-fantasies[12] I have regularly found images of "poison blood" prior to outbreaks of war and violent revolution. In war, the enemy is imagined to be sucking out the blood of the nation; in revolution, the state is the blood-sucker, as in the fantasy before the French Revolution that the state was an "immense and infernal machine which seizes each citizen by the throat and pumps out his blood."[13] Images of poison blood are periodic in history. They are usually found in conjunction with images of guilt for recent prosperity and progress that are felt to "pollute the national blood-stream with sinful excess," making men "soft" and "feminine," a frightful condition that can only be cleansed by a blood-shedding purification.[14] This fantasy of periodic shedding of poisoned blood through war is based on the same presumed cleansing effects as the bloodletting therapies physicians prescribed through the nineteenth century to cure many diseases, which also were believed to be caused by "gluttony, luxury and lustful excesses."[15] As one military leader put it, war "is one of the great agencies by which human progress is effected. [It] purges a nation of its humors…and chastens it, as sickness or adversity…chastens an individual;" it cures it of its "worship of comfort, wealth, and general softness…"[16]When John Adams asked Thomas Jefferson "how to prevent…luxury from producing effeminacy, intoxication, extravagance, vice and folly?" Jefferson's answer was: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots."[17] As Sherlock Holmes expressed it in a story set in August 1914, rapid material progress had produced a feeling that "God's curse hung heavy over a degenerate world, for there was an awesome hush and a feeling of vague expectancy in the sultry and stagnant air…[but] a cleaner, better, stronger land will lie in the sunshine when the storm has cleared….A bloody purging would be good for the country."[18]

Wars have often been thought of as purifying the nation's polluted blood by virtue of a sacrificial rite identical to the rites of human sacrifice so common in early historical periods. The blood of those sacrificed is believed to renew the nation. War, said those preparing for the bloody Finnish Civil War, purges guilt-producing material prosperity through the blood of soldiers sacrificed on the battlefield: "The idea of sacrifice permeated the war…Youth…have heard the nation's soul crying for its renewal, their heart's blood [because] nations drink renewal from the blood of the fallen soldiers."[19] Usually the blood of the soldiers is thought of as being needed to feed a maternal figure, either mother earth or, like the Aztecs, a bloodthirsty mother-goddess.[20] War renewed national strength by feeding blood to the goddess the state was "reborn" by the soldier's blood, and war cleansed the polluted national bloodstream as if there was a "rebirth from the womb of history," a "bloody baptism" that removed all poisonous self-indulgence.[21] "A nation hath been born again,/ Regenerate by a second birth!" wrote W. W. Howe after the bloody

American Civil War.[22] Another American, speaking of World War I, said "It was like the pouring of new blood into old veins."[23]

The question immediately arises: How do such poisoned blood fears originate? And what is their connection with birth? The answers to these questions will become more convincing only after we have examined a prior question: Why is war so often depicted as a woman?

GROUP-FANTASIES OF DANGEROUS WOMEN

For the past two decades, I have been collecting historical material from sources such as magazine covers and political cartoons on images of war. One of the most unexpected finding of was that war was so often shown as a dangerous, bloodthirsty woman.[24] Despite the fact that women neither play much

4:1 The Mother of All Wars

part in deciding on wars nor in fighting them, war has so often been depicted as a dangerous woman (Illustration 3:1) that a visitor to our planet might wrongly conclude that women were

our most bellicose sex. From Athena to Freyja, from Marianne to Brittannia, terrifying women have been depicted as war goddesses,[25] devouring, raping and ripping apart her children. The image has become so familiar we no longer think to question why women are so often shown as presiding over war rather than as its victims, as they are in reality.

> Even in antiquity, when the god of war was usually male, his mother was imagined to have hovered above the battlefield, demanding more blood to feed her voracious appetite.[26] And athough it was almost always men who fought the battles,[27] women in early societies were expected to come along to watch from the sidelines, rather like cheerleaders at a sports match, shrieking their own battle-cries, heckling and insulting those warriors who held back and demanding a plentiful show of blood on the battlefield.[28]

THE MARIE ANTOINETTE SYNDROME AND SOCIAL VIOLENCE

> The French Revolution fully demonstrates the role of the dangerous woman fantasy in social violence, being preceded by a deluge of pamphlets and newspapers picturing Marie Antoinette-actually a rather sweet-natured young woman-as a sexually voracious, incestuous, lesbian, murderous "bloodsucker of the French."[29] The French Revolution, Terror and revolutionary wars were accompanied by increasingly violent Marie Antoinette fantasies, centering on grotesque images of her imagined sexual perversities, while the king was pictured as merely an impotent tool in her hands. Finally, the Tribunal, whipped up by the press, declared her a "ravening beast" and chopped off her head, after she had been accused of being a "tigress thirsty for the blood of the French," a "ferocious panther who devoured the French, the female monster whose pores sweated the purest blood of the sans-culottes," a "vampire who sucks the blood of the French," and a "monster who needed to slake her thirst on the blood of the French."[30]

I have found that group-fantasies of monstrous bloodthirsty women have preceded every war I have analyzed. Even the most popular movies prior to wars reflect this dangerous woman fantasy. The biggest movie preceding W.W.II was The Wizard of Oz, which is about a wicked witch and how to kill her; the second biggest was Gone With the Wind, featuring a bitchy Scarlet and the third biggest was The Women, which boasted it featured 135 dangerous women. All About Eve before Korea and Cleopatra before Vietnam had similar dangerous women as leads, and the Persian Gulf War was preceded by a whole string of dangerous women movies, from Fatal Attraction to Thelma and Louise,[31] including a hit TV series entitled Dangerous Women.

When war breaks out, these terrifying women images disappear from the nation's fantasy life. The dangerous woman image now is projected into the enemy, so that the war is experienced unconsciously as a battle with a mother-figure. For example, when the United States attacked Libya, the New York Post reported the rumor that American intelligence had discovered that Moammar Khadafy was actually a "transvestite dressed in women's clothes and high heels,"[32] even touching up a photo to show how he "might look…dressed in drag." Even more often, the enemy is shown as a dangerous mommy, as in the Persian Gulf War when Saddam Hussein was depicted as a dangerous pregnant mother with a nuclear bomb in her womb or as the mother of a death-baby (see Chapter 2)

> Hallucinating dangerous feminine characteristics in one's enemies goes all the way back to antiquity, when the earliest battles were imagined to have been fought against female monsters,

often the mother of the hero, whatever her name-Tiamat, Ishtar, Inanna, Isis, or Kali.[33] Typical is the Aztec mother-goddess Huitzilopochtli, who had "mouths all over her body" that cried out to be fed the blood of soldiers.[34] Early Indo-European warriors had to pass through initiatory rituals in order to attain full status in which they dressed up and attacked a monstrous dummy female poisonous serpent, complete with three heads.[35] Although early warriors fought against men, not women, they often anally raped and castrated their enemies, turning them into symbolic women; from ancient Norse to ancient Egyptian societies, heaps of enemy penises on the battlefield are commonly portrayed.[36] In addition, according to the world's leading historian of war, "the opportunity to engage in wholesale rape was not just among the rewards of successful war but, from the soldier's point of view, one of the cardinal objectives for which he fought."[37] More women have been raped and killed in some wars than enemy soldiers. The hero is therefore simultaneously both a self-killer, punishing projected parts of himself, and a mother-killer, inflicting revenge for early traumas.[38]

At the same time, by restaging early traumas in wars the magical goal is achieved of merging with the mother in a defensive maneuver to deny her as a dangerous object. Giving one's life for one's Motherland means finally joining with her. The soldier who dies in war, says one patriot, "dies peacefully. He who has a Motherland dies in comfort…in her, like a baby falling asleep in its warm and soft cradle…"[39]

Yet even though we understand that both the Motherland and the enemy in wars are ultimately the early mother, the question remains: what could possibly be the infantile origin of fantasies of the enemy as a poisonous blood-sucking monster? Why did Americans before the Revolutionary War feel "poisoned by Mother England" and fight a war rather than pay a minor tax? Why did Hitler fear "blood-sucking Jews and foreigners," and why did Aztec soldiers go to war to feed blood to a monstrous mother-goddess? Closer to today, why did Americans for so long fear their "national life-blood" was being "poisoned" by Communists? Why do so many today feel the government and welfare recipients are "sucking their blood?" Images of blood-sucking, engulfing enemies are ubiquitous throughout history. Surely our blood was never really poisoned or sucked out of us by a maternal monster in our past. Or was it?

WAR AND THE FETAL DRAMA

As I described in my Foundations of Psychohistory,[40] when I first began collecting the emotional imagery surrounding the outbreak of war I was puzzled by recurring claims by aggressors that they were forced to go to war against their wishes because "a net had suddenly been thrown over their head" or a "ring of iron was closing about us more tightly every moment" or they had been "seized by the throat and strangled." I piled up hundreds of these images of nations being choked and strangled, "unable to draw a breath," "smothered, walled-in," "unable to relieve the inexorable pressure" of a world "pregnant with events," followed by feelings of being "picked up bodily" in "an inexorable slide" towards war, starting with a "rupture of diplomatic relations" and a "descent into the abyss," being "unable to see the light at the end of the tunnel" as the nation takes its "final plunge over the brink," and even that wars were "aborted" if ended too soon. Given the concreteness of all this birth imagery, I concluded that war was a rebirth fantasy of enormous power shared by nations undergoing deep regression to fetal traumas.

> War has long been described in images of pregnancy: “War develops in the womb of State politics; its principles are hidden there as the particular characteristics of the individual are hidden in the embryo” (Clausewitz); “Germany is never so happy as when she is pregnant with a war” (proverb).[41] Wars are felt to be life-and-death struggles for “breathing space” and “living room,” Lebensraum, as though nations were reliving the growing lack of space and oxygen common to all fetuses just prior to and during birth (plus, for most infants right up to Hitler’s generation, the reliving of the pain of tight swaddling). As Adzema puts it, “feelings of expansion are followed by a fear of entrapment.”[42] Nations become paranoid prior to wars, and feel they have to resort to violence in order to get out of what appears to be a choking womb and birth canal. Bethmann-Hollweg, for example, told the Reichstag in announcing war in 1914 that Germany was surrounded by enemies, and “he who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his highest possession can only consider how he is to hack his way through.”[43] As Hitler repeated over and over again, only a violent “rebirth” could “purge the world of the Jewish poison” and avoid it being “asphyxiated and destroyed.”[44]

Now, the notion that war might be a battle against a dangerous mother is difficult enough to believe. That it in addition includes fantasies that you are hacking your way out of the engulfment of your own birth is infinitely harder to accept. But what followed then in my psychohistorical research into imagery prior to wars was a discovery that seemed to be a final step into the unbelievable, revealing a depth of regression prior to wars greater than anything yet contemplated in the psychological literature. Yet it was a discovery that for the first time seemed to explain the true origin of the poison blood imagery.

> What I found was that the cartoons, past and present, of the enemy in war were dominated by an image that was even more widespread than that of the dangerous mommy: it was that of a sea-beast, often with many heads or arms, a

4:2 War as a Battle with the Poisonous Plants

dragon or a hydra or a serpent or an octopus that threatened to poison the lifeblood of the nation. Most early cultures believed in this beast as a dragon that was associated with watery caves or lakes; modern wars show the beast as a blood-sucking, many-headed enemy. This serpentine, poisonous monster I have termed the Poisonous Placenta, since it resembled what the actual placenta must have sometimes felt like to the growing fetus, particularly when the placenta fails in its tasks of cleansing ithe fetal blood of wastes and of replenishing its oxygen supply. When the blood coming to the fetus from the placenta is bright red and full of nutrients and oxygen, the fetus feels it is being fed by a Nurturant Placenta, but when the mother smokes, takes drugs or is hurt or frightened or otherwise stressed, the placenta does not remove the wastes from the fetal blood, which therefore becomes polluted and depleted of oxygen. Under these stressful conditions, the helpless fetus experiences an asphyxiating Poisonous Placenta, the prototype for all later hate relationships, including the murderous mother, the castrating father or the

dangerous enemy. It is even likely that the fetus, like Oedipus, feels it is actually battling with the dangerous beast (Sphinx means “strangler” in Greek) in order to restore connections with the Nurturant Placenta. This battle, one that I have termed the fetal drama, is repeated in death-and-rebirth restagings of traumatic battles in all wars and other social violence.

> The cosmic battle with the Poisonous Placenta (the capitals are in honor of it being the prototype for God and Nation), where we repeat the fetal drama of a paradise lost, of being sucked into the whirlpool and crushing pressures of birth, and where we fight the placental dragon, is well depicted in a

MARVEL COMICS GROUP
CONAN
The Fetal Drama
Birth and the Poisonous Placenta
4. The fetus, abandoned...
5. ...starts his birth between head-crushing bon
6. The amniotic waters break and the whirlpool of birth begins.
7. The Poisonous Placenta...
8. ...wants the fetus. The Hero must choke the Poisonous Placenta...
9. ...to save the fetus from asphyxiation. But he might drown himself

10. The battle with the Poisonous Placenta frees the fetus.

11. The fetus, at home in the water, is safely born on land.

4:3 The Fetal Drama

comic-book character, Conan the Barbarian, although I could just as easily have used pictures and texts from ancient myths of battles with sea-beasts such as Tiamat, Rahab, Behemoth, Humbaba, Apophis, Hydra, Gorgon or Typhon.[45] In this version, a baby is first shown abandoned, beginning his watery birth passage between head-crushing bones, going down the whirlpool of birth after the amniotic waters break, and then being choked by the Poisonous Placenta, a black sea-monster that tries to asphyxiate it. The hero, an imaginary powerful version of the fetus, battles with the Poisonous Placenta and frees the fetus, who reaches the safety of land. The final panel shows that the goal, however, is not birth, the arrival on land, but the reuniting with the placenta. That it is the Nurturant and not the Poisonous Placenta that holds the baby in its embrace is depicted by its being shown as a white sea beast.

> In most cultures, the placenta is considered very much alive after delivery; it is felt to be so dangerous to the community that unless it is buried somewhere deep the whole tribe will fall sick.[46] The fantasy of the Poisonous Placenta is even present in most small groups. As one group analyst describes his conclusions from a lifetime of studying unconscious group images:

One of the most active, or rather paralyzing, unconscious group representations is that of Hydra: the group is felt to be a single body with a dozen arms at the ends of which are heads and mouths, each functioning independently of the others…incessantly searching for prey to be squeezed and suffocated, and ready to devour one another if they are not satisfied.[47]

Obviously, full understanding of the placental source of "poison blood" imagery and of the fetal origins of war and social violence is going to have to wait until we investigate more fully the psychology of dangerous wombs, Poisonous Placentas and asphyxiating births which is to say, until we understand more about both the psychology and neurobiology of fetal life.

THE ORIGINS OF FETAL PSYCHOLOGY

After Freud initially proposed that mental life began after birth, he later admitted that he had come to believe he was wrong, saying that "the act of birth is the first experience of anxiety."[48] Although most other psychoanalysts believed mental life began only with infancy, there were a number of exceptions, beginning with Otto Rank's The Trauma of Birth in 1923,[49] which began the investigation of birth anxiety derivatives in adult life and culture. After Rank, Donald Winnicott wrote in the early 1940s a paper on "Birth Memories, Birth Trauma, and Anxiety,"[50] which, however, was little noticed, since, as he said, "It is rare to find doctors who believe that the experience of birth is important to the baby, that it could have any significance in the emotional development of the individual, and that memory traces of the experience could persist and give rise to trouble even in the adult." While still a pediatrician, Winnicott saw that newborn babies varied enormously and that prolonged labor could be traumatic to the fetus, resulting in extreme anxiety-so much so that he thought "some babies are born paranoid, by which I mean in a state of expecting persecution…"[51] He was even able to conclude that "at full term, there is already a human being in the womb, one that is capable of having experiences and of accumulating body memories and even of organizing defensive measures to deal with traumata…" He sometimes would allow his child patients to work through birth anxiety directly, having one child sit in his lap and "get inside my coat and turn upside down and slide down to the ground between my legs; this he repeated over and over again….After this experience I was prepared to believe that memory traces of birth can persist."[52] He also encouraged some adult patients to relive the breathing changes, constrictions of the body, head pressures, convulsive movements and fears of annihilation experienced during their births, with dramatic therapeutic results.[53]

After Winnicott, psychotherapists such as Fodor, Mott, Raskovsky, Janov, Grof, Verny, Fedor-Freybergh, Janus and others published extensive work showing how their patients relived birth trauma in therapy and removed major blocks in their emotional lives.[54] These traumatic birth feelings of being trapped, of crushing head pressures and cardiac distress, of being sucked into a whirlpool or swallowed by terrifying monsters, of explosive volcanoes and death-rebirth struggles appear regularly in the 60 percent of our dreams that have been found to contain overt

pre- and perinatal images,[55] although most therapists continue to overlook their connections with actual birth memories.

Perhaps one of the most important results of clinical research by therapists sensitive to perinatal trauma-as described particularly in the work of Linda Share[56] is how regularly early trauma produces an overwhelming fear of all progress in life. It is as though the fetus concludes, "Going forward in life led to disaster; I must remain 'unborn' all my life to avoid a repetition of this horrible start."

> Fetuses that experience injuries in the womb, premature births, birth complications, and many other medical conditions as newborns regularly live the rest of their lives in fear of all growth and individuation.[57] For instance, one baby who was born with a congenital atresia of the esophagus, so that she choked on feedings, was seen to have multiple fears of dying all during a 30-year followup study into her life.[58] Another, who often dreamed of lying in a refrigerator, asked his parents about the image, and they told him that as a newborn the window of his room had mistakenly been left open on an extremely cold winter night, and they "had thawed him out of his urine, feces and vomitus."[59] Interpretation of this continuing fear led to a turning point in the treatment and in the patient's life. Another baby was born with an intestinal obstruction that prevented digestion, so she vomited up all her milk. Although the condition was repaired at one month, for the rest of her life she was concerned with disaster fantasies every time growth was imminent. As Share described her, "Each new opportunity for advancement stood for a metaphorical 'birth.' To be born in any kind of way meant to have to reexperience the disaster of her infancy: starvation, pain, surgery, and near-death. These, then, were the disasters she fantasized, the panic attacks each time she headed for something new and creative."[60] As with all early trauma, any progress threatened repetition of disaster.

RECENT RESEARCH INTO FETAL MEMORY

> Much has changed in our knowledge of the fetus during the decades since the early pioneering excursions into perinatal psychology. Neurobiologists have made startling advances in the understanding of how the brain develops in the womb, experimental psychologists have discovered a great deal about fetal learning, pediatricians have linked all kinds of later problems to fetal distress, and one psychoanalyst has even begun to compare thousands of hours of ultrasound observations of individual fetuses with their emotional problems during infancy in therapy with her. There are now thousands of books and articles on the subject, as well as two international associations of pre- and perinatal psychology, each with its own journal.[61] I will here only be able to summarize some of the main trends of this extensive recent research.

Biologists used to think that because the fetus had incomplete myelination of neurons it couldn't have memories.[62] This notion has been disproved, since impulses can be carried quite efficiently in the thinly myelinated nerves of fetuses, only at a somewhat slower velocity, which is offset by the shorter distances traveled.[63] Indeed, far from being an unfeeling being, the fetus has been found to be exquisitely sensitive to its surroundings, and our earliest feelings have been found to be coded into our early emotional memory system centering in the amygdala, the central fear system, quite distinct from the declarative memory system centering in the hippocampus, the center of consciousness, that becomes fully functional only in later childhood.[64] These early emotional memories are usually unavailable to conscious, declarative memory recall, so early

fears and even defenses against them are often only recaptured through body memories and by analyzing the consequences of the traumas.[65]

The fetal nervous system is so well developed that by the end of the first trimester it responds to the stroking of its palm by a light hair by grasping, of its lips by sucking, and of its eyelids by squinting.[66] It will jump if touched by the amniocentesis needle and turn away from the light when a doctor introduces a brightly lit fetoscope.[67] By the second trimester, the fetus is not only seeing and hearing, it is actively tasting, feeling, exploring and learning from its environment, now floating peacefully, now kicking vigorously, turning somersaults, urinating, grabbing its umbilicus when frightened, stroking and even licking its placenta, conducting little boxing matches with its companion if it is a twin and responding to being touched or spoken to through the mother's abdomen.[68] Each fetus develops its own pattern of activity, so that ultrasound technicians quickly learn to recognize each fetus as a distinct personality.[69] Even sensual life begins in the womb; if a boy, the fetus has regular erections of his penis, coinciding with REM sleep phases, and baby girls have been seen masturbating during REM sleep.[70]

THE EMOTIONAL EFFECTS OF FETAL STRESS

> In addition to what we know about the disastrous effects on the fetus of prenatal exposure to drugs and alcohol,[71] we now have considerable evidence on how maternal stress and other emotions are transmitted to the fetus. When a pregnant mother is offered a cigarette after having been deprived of smoking for 24 hours there is a significant acceleration in fetal heartbeat even before the cigarette is lit, and maternal smoking during pregnancy has been found to triple the rate of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorders later in the child.[72] The fetus has been found to be sensitive to a wide range of maternal emotions in addition to any drugs or other physical traumas she endures.[73] When the mother feels anxiety, her increased heartbeat, frightened speech, and alterations in neurotransmitter levels are instantly communicated to the fetus, and her tachycardia is followed within seconds by the fetus's tachycardia; when she feels fear, within 50 seconds the fetus can be made hypoxic (low oxygen). Pregnant monkeys stressed by simulated threatening attack had such impaired blood circulation to their uteruses that their fetuses were severely asphyxiated.[74] Alterations in adrenaline, plasma epinephrine and norepinephrine levels, high levels of hydroxycortico-steriods, hyperventilation and many other products of maternal anxiety are also known to directly affect the human fetus. Numerous other studies document sensory, hormonal and biochemical mechanisms by which the fetus is in communication with the mother's feelings and with the outside world.[75] Even baby monkeys have been found to be hyperactive, with higher levels of the stress hormone, cortisol, after birth from a mother who was experimentally stressed during her pregnancy.[76]

While positive maternal emotions have been experimentally shown to increase later growth, alertness, calmness and intelligence the fetus even benefits from the mother singing to it in the womb and prenatal infant stimulation, particularly being bathed in pleasant music, improves fetal development compared to control groups,[77] maternal distress and chemical toxins have been shown to produce low birth weights, increased infant mortality, respiratory infections, asthma and reduced cognitive development.[78] Ultrasound studies record fetal distress clearly, as it thrashes about and kicks in pain during hypoxia and other conditions. One mother whose husband had just threatened her verbally with violence came into the doctor's office with the fetus thrashing and kicking so violently as to be painful to her, with an elevated heart rate that

continued for hours.[79]The same wild thrashing has been seen in fetuses of mothers whose spouses have died suddenly. Maternal fright can actually cause the death of the fetus, and death of the husband and other severe emotional distress within the family during the mother's pregnancy have been associated with fetal damage in large samples in several countries.[80] Marital discord between spouses has been correlated "with almost 100 per cent certainty…with child morbidity in the form of ill-health, neurological dysfunction, developmental lags and behavior disturbance."[81]

Margaret Fries has conducted a 40-year longitudinal study predicting emotional patterns that remain quite constant throughout the lives of those studied, correlating the patterns to the mother's attitude toward the fetus during pregnancy.[82] Maternal emotional stress, hostility toward the fetus and fetal distress have also been statistically correlated in various studies with more premature births, lower birth weights, more neonate neurotransmitter imbalances, more clinging infant patterns, more childhood psychopathology, more physical illness, higher rates of schizophrenia, lower IQ in early childhood, greater school failure, higher delinquency and greater propensity as an adult to use drugs, commit violent crimes and commit suicide.[83] This increase in social violence due to pre- and perinatal conditions has recently been confirmed by a major Danish study showing that boys of mothers who do not want to have them (25 percent of pregnant mothers admit they do not want their babies)[84] and who also experience birth complications are four times more likely when they get to be teenagers to commit violent crimes than control groups.[85] American studies also show similar higher violent crime rates correlated with maternal rejection during pregnancy.[86]

THE NEUROBIOLOGY OF EARLY TRAUMA

> There are sound neurobiological reasons for this correlation between fetal trauma and social violence. Early brain development is determined both by genes and by cellular selection and self-organizational processes that are crucially dependent upon the uterine environment.[87] Since fetal and early infantile traumas and abdonments occur while the brain is still being formed, while cell adhesion molecules are still determining the brain's initial mapping processes and while synaptic connections are still undergoing major developmental changes, memories of early traumas cannot be handled as traumas are later in life and instead are coded in separate neuronal networks that retain their emotional power well into adulthood.[88]

Fetal abuse can be direct, either from drugs or from the pregnant mother being abused by her mate. According to the Surgeon General, "one in three pregnant women in America is slapped, kicked or punched by their mates."[89] In addition, maternal emotional stress produces such biochemical imbalances as an overactivation of the pituitary-adrenal cortical and sympathetic-adrenal medullary systems with consequent increases of adrenocorticotrophic hormone (ACTH), cortisol, pituitary growth hormone and catecholamine levels. Maternal emotional stress has even been correlated with damage to the hippocampus, the center, along with the thalamus, of conscious memory and self feelings.[90] Furthermore, the emotions of the mother can be directly transmitted through the neurotransmitters and other hormones in her blood to the fetal blood and then to DNA-binding receptors in the fetal cells that turn genes on and off, thus programming her stress directly into the developing fetal brain.[91] This bath of maternal hormonal imbalances can produce severe fetal traumatic emotional dysfunctions.[92] Baby rats, for instance, whose mothers had been frightened by loud noises during pregnancy, were found to have copious supplies of

stress hormones, plus fewer receptors for benzodiazepines and fewer GABA receptors, both needed for calming action during stress.[93] The results of the mother not wanting her baby can prove lethal: one study of eight thousand pregnant women found that unwanted babies were 2.4 times more likely to die in the first month of life.[94]

Infants traumatized in utero and during birth are those Winnicott referred to as "born paranoid," and can remain hypersensitive to stress, over-fearful, withdrawn and angry all of their lives. Fetal traumas and abandonments result in overstimulation of neurotransmitters, producing hypersensitivity and other imbalances in such important neurotransmitters as the catecholamines. The most important of these imbalances is low serotonin levels, which have been demonstrated to lead to persistent hyperarousal and compulsive reenactment in violent social behavior, including both homicide and suicide.[95] Because of this, reenactment in later life can be an even more potent source of violent behavior in the case of fetal trauma than it has been found to be in the case of childhood or war trauma.[96]

The same neurobiological factors have been found to be responsible for the increase in violence against self. Suicide patterns are so strongly linked to birth that epidemiologists have found higher suicide rates in areas of the country that a few decades earlier had had higher birth injuries.[97] What probably happens is that birth traumas reset life-long serotonin and noradrenaline levels to lower levels, since there is a strong statistical link between low serotonin and noradrenaline and violent suicides.[98] Other studies have shown that even the types of suicides were correlated with the kinds of perinatal traumas, asphyxia during birth leading to more suicides through strangulation, hanging and drowning, mechanical trauma during birth correlated with mechanical suicide elements, drugs given during birth being correlated to suicide by drugs, and so on. The rise in adolescent drug addiction and suicide recently, mainly connected with drug use, is believed to be at least partially due to the more frequent use of drugs prescribed by obstetricians during birth in recent decades.[99] The same principle may hold for the rise of violent crimes during the 1970s and 80s, which has been connected with the rise of the extremely painful rite of circumcision in newborn boys during the 1950s and 60s;[100] it could equally have contributed to the rise of teenage suicides, since perinatal trauma can also be turned against the self. Violence done to babies always returns on the social level.

> Far from being the safe, cozy haven to which we all supposedly want to return, the womb is in fact often a dangerous and often painful abode,[101] where "more lives are lost during the nine gestational months than in the ensuing 50 years of postnatal life."[102] Few fetuses, for instance, escape experiencing painful drops in oxygen levels when the mother is emotionally upset, smokes, drinks alcohol or takes other drugs. As the placenta stops growing during the final months of pregnancy, it regresses in efficiency, becoming tough and fibrous, as its cells and blood vessels degenerate and it becomes full of blood clots and calcifications, making the fetus even more susceptible to hypoxia as it grows larger and making the late-term fetus "extremely hypoxic by adult standards."[103] Furthermore, the weight of the fetus pressing down into the pelvis can compress blood vessels supplying the placenta, producing additional placental failure.[104] Practice contractions near birth give the fetus periodic "squeezes," decreasing oxygen level even further,[105] while birth itself is so hypoxic that "hypoxia of a certain degree and duration is a normal phenomenon in every delivery," not just in more severe cases.[106] The effects on the fetus of this extreme hypoxia are dramatic: normal fetal breathing stops, fetal heart rate

accelerates, then decelerates, and the fetus thrashes about frantically in a life-and-death struggle to liberate itself from its terrifying asphyxiation.[107] In addition, fetal abuse is often the result of the pregnant mother's wish to hurt or punish her unborn child. One study showed 8 percent of 112 pregnant American women openly acknowledged this wish, often hitting their abdomen or otherwise purposely abusing their fetus.[108] The real figure is likely to be higher than this, particularly in the past.

THE REALITY OF FETAL MEMORY

That the fetal memory system is sufficiently mature not only to learn in the womb but also to remember prenatal and birth experiences is confirmed by a growing body of experimental, observational and clinical data. Neonates can remember lullabies learned prenatally[109] and can pick out at birth their mothers' voices from among other female voices and respond differently (by the increased ratre of sucking on a pacifier) to familiar melodies they had heard in utero.[110] Sallenbach played simple melodies to the fetus in utero, based on four notes, and found that the fetus was able not only to move to the beat but continued to mark the beat when the notes were discontinued.[111] As evidence of even more complex memories, DeCasper had 16 pregnant women read either The Cat in the Hat or a second poem with a different meter to their fetuses twice a day for the last six weeks of their pregnancy.[112] When the babies were born, he hooked up their pacifiers to a mechanism that allowed them to chose one of two tape recordings by sucking slowly or quickly, choosing either the tape in which their mothers read the familiar poem or the tape where she read the unfamiliar poem. The babies soon were listening to the tape of the familiar poem, indicating their mastery of the task of remembering complex speech patterns learned in utero. Chamberlain sums up his extensive work on birth memories, which he found very reliable when comparing them with both the memories of the mother and hospital records, "They demonstrate the same clear awareness of violence, danger, and breech of trust which any of us adults might show in a similar situation…Even three-year-olds sometimes have explicit and accurate birth recall."[113] Distress during birth is particularly able to be later remembered during dreams, when dissociated early neural emotional memory systems are more easily accessed. For instance, one child who had been a "blue baby" and near death while tangled in his umbilicus during birth and had had a forceps delivery had the following revealing nightmare during most of his childhood:

I would be kneeling down, all bent over. I am frantically trying to untie knots in some kind of rope. I am just starting to get free of the rope when I get punched in the face.[114]

With the number of recent experiments demonstrating fetal competence, classical conditioning and more advanced learning ability,[115] it is not surprising that some parents have recently begun to make the fetus a "member of the family," playing with them, massaging them and calming them down when they thought they had communicated distress by excessive movement and kicking, and trading light pokes in return for fetal kicks, in what they call "The Kicking Game."[116] One father taught his baby to kick in a circle; a mother played a nightly game where she tapped her abdomen three times and the fetus bumped back three times.[117] Another father who called out "Hoo hoo!" next to his pregnant wife's belly nightly found his child pushing with a foot into his cheek on whichever side he called; father and baby played this game for 15 weeks; he found his next baby was able to learn the same game.[118] These parents tried to avoid maternal stress, loud

arguments and loud noises especially rock music because they became aware it produced fetal distress.

> Recent insights into fetal learning have led to some impressive research on fetal enrichment that demonstrates that prenatal stimulation produces advances in motoric abilities and intelligence that last for years. Experimental groups of pregnant women and their fetuses who participated in prenatal stimulation enrichment were investigated in parallel with carefully selected control groups not involved in any prenatal program. The postnatal evaluation of both groups on standard developmental tests shows highly significant enhancement from fetal sensory stimulation in motoric performance, visual skills, emotional expression and early speech.[119] Even more impressive, when these prenatally-induced enrichment effects are consolidated by immediate post-natal enrichment experiences, they produce improvements over the control group in Stanford Binet IQ tests at age three ranging from 38 percent for language and 47 percent for memory to 51 percent for social intelligence and 82 percent for reasoning, a fetal Head Start program of astonishing efficiency.

THE FINDINGS OF ULTRASOUND RESEARCH

Perhaps the most impressive observational work on the personality of the fetus is being done by the Italian psychoanalyst Alessandra Piontelli, by combining thousands of hours of ultrasound observations with clinical psychoanalytic work with young children. Her research into pre- and perinatal memories began after she encountered an eighteen-month-old child who was reported by sensitive parents as being incessantly restless and unable to sleep:

I noted that he seemed to move about restlessly almost as if obsessed by a search for something in every possible corner of the limited space of my consulting room, looking for something which he never seemed able to find. His parents commented on this, saying that he acted like that all the time, day and night. Occasionally Jacob also tried to shake several of the objects inside my room, as if trying to bring them back to life. His parents then told me that any milestone in his development (such as sitting up, crawling, walking, or uttering his first words) all seemed to be accompanied by intense anxiety and pain as if he were afraid, as they put it, 'to leave something behind him.' When I said very simply to him that he seemed to be looking for something that he had lost and could not find anywhere, Jacob stopped and looked at me very intently. I then commented on his trying to shake all the objects to life as if he were afraid that their stillness meant death. His parents almost burst into tears and told me that Jacob was, in fact, a twin, but that his co-twin, Tino, as they had already decided to call him, had died two weeks before birth. Jacob, therefore, had spent almost two weeks in utero with his dead and consequently unresponsive co-twin.[120]

Verbalization of his fears that each step forward in his development might be accompanied by the death of a loved one for whom he felt himself to be responsible "brought about an incredible change in his behavior," says Piontelli. Similarly, Leah La Goy, an American psychotherapist, has documented seventeen children who were her patients who had lost a twin in utero and who "consistently create enactments of fearing for their own life [which] can and often does weaken the parent-child bonding process" because they believe their mother might try to get rid of them too.[121]

Piontelli, like many other child therapists, began to be struck by the frequency and concreteness of children's "fantasies" about their life before birth. Unlike most therapists, who, however, ignore their accurate observations because their training taught them the mind only begins after birth, she carefully recorded them and tried to confirm their reality, first by consultation with the family and eventually by her own extensive ultrasound observations of fetal life. The correlations and continuities between fetal experiences and childhood personality "were often so dramatic," she says, "that I was amazed that I had not been more aware of them at the time."[122] One set of twins often stroked each others' heads in the womb through the dividing membrane; at the age of one, they could often be seen playing their favorite game of using a curtain as a kind of membrane through which they stroked each other's heads.[123] Another set of twins whose mother considered abortion because of her fear they might be jealous of each other-punched each other all the time in the womb and continued to do so after birth.

One fetus, who often buried his face in the placenta as if it were a pillow, as a child insisted that his mother get him a pencil case shaped like a pillow that he used similarly. Still other children played out various obstetrical distress problems in later life in dramatic detail, such as one child who had nearly died because her umbilical cord had been tightly knotted around her neck and who spent most of her early childhood wrapping ropes, strings and curtain cords around her head and neck, playing with them and licking them in a frenzy.[124] The enormous importance of being able to use fetal insights such as these in the therapy of both children and adults for profound relief and personality change has been carefully documented by Piontelli and other therapists.[125]

THE POISONOUS PLACENTA

Piontelli's pioneering use of ultrasound to observe actual fetal behavior has, in fact, for the first time confirmed my own conclusions made from historical material about the relationship between the fetus and its placenta. Even birth therapists have objected to my theory that "the fetus begins its mental life in active relationship with its own placenta." Thomas Verny, author of the pioneering book The Secret Life of the Unborn Child, said that although he agreed that "mental life begins in the womb with a fetal drama," he disagreed that the placenta has any role in this drama, saying, "Personally, in fifteen years of doing intensive, regressive type of psychotherapy I have never yet heard one of my patients refer in any way at all to his or her placenta."[126] David Chamberlain, author of Babies Remember Birth, agrees, saying, "I have heard complaints about all these things in hypnosis but never against a 'poisonous placenta.' The reaction is always against the mother herself."[127]

Until birth is complete, the fetus, of course, has never met a "mother," only a womb and a placenta and an umbilicus. Piontelli's ultrasound observations reveal the complex relationship between the fetus and its placental/umbilical "first object." Fetuses stroke and explore the placenta all the time, and grab the umbilicus for comfort when distressed. Their behavior toward the placenta and umbilicus correlates with later behavior patterns in their infancy, so that, for instance, when Piontelli watches one fetus use the placenta as a pillow in the womb, observing it "sucking the cord [and] resting on the placenta as if it were a big pillow…burying himself in the placenta…as if it were a pillow," she then notices it has difficulty sucking the mother's breast after birth, preferring to use it as a pillow instead: "He is not sucking…he is leaning against it…it's not a pillow you know!"[128]

Another fetus Piontelli watched in utero by ultrasound constantly licked her placenta and umbilicus while holding her hands between her legs on her vagina. The mother, who was both very overweight and whose "rather vamp-looking, low-necked, black velvety dress, together with her smeared and bright make-up, made her look quite 'whorish,' though in an outdated and clumsy way, like a character out of a Fellini film,"[129] kept saying her baby girl would turn out to be "whorish" and had many conflicts about having her. The fetus responded to the maternal rejection by licking her placenta and masturbating:

She is licking the placenta now…look at what she is doing with her other hand…it is still there right in between her legs…licking the placenta again…my God…she is really wild this time…look…it just goes on and on…Look how she licks it!…we can almost hear the noise…look…she is pulling it down towards her mouth…my God!…her tongue is really strong…look she is doing it again…and again…and again.[130]

That this "seducing" of the placenta by this fetus plus her auto-eroticism might have been defensive maneuvers designed to ward off fear is indicated by her later actions in therapy with Piontelli as a child. In therapy, said Piontelli, she seemed to have only two modes of being: (1) fear of everything as being persecutory and poisoning, so that she spent her early therapy sessions terrified and screaming, and (2) in "orgies," like a "whore," eating and licking everything and masturbating.[131] Apparently her mother's rejecting attitude and poor uterine conditions had affected the fetal amygdalan early emotional memory system. In monkeys, destroying their amygdalae causes them to mouth everything they come into contact with and try to have sex with everything they meet, exactly the same mouthing and masturbating orgies this child engaged in both as a fetus and infant. So intent on licking and seducing everything was this baby that she couldn't even suck her mother's breast:

The breast…seems to be a despicable object…she absolutely refuses milk…Her mother says, "What are you doing?…you are not sucking it, you are playing…she is not sucking it…she is licking it!"…she starts licking her mother's chest vigorously with the same wild motions I had previously noticed when she licked the placenta…She licked any surface or fabric which came into contact with her face. I saw her licking her mother's chest, her shoulders, her chin, her arms and the clothes covering them.[132]

As an alternative to her screaming and paranoid fear, the baby had developed a pattern of seducing both placental objects and herself, filling her abyss of anxiety with wild, orgiastic licking and masturbating:

She sits on the table with her legs wide open looking rather obscene. She inserts a finger inside her cup and licks it. Then she puts her hands between her legs while moving her tongue over her lips. She looks very excited and her face is all red now. I say that she's filling herself with prohibited excitement now. She puts her finger in her mouth and then almost inside her vagina, saying, "This or this, they are both nice…"

Piontelli's little children with fetal problems did not, of course, say their persecutors were "Poisonous Placentas," any more than did the adult patients of Verny or Chamberlain. Yet there is little question that it was the placenta that they felt had persecuted them while in the womb and

that they still felt persecuted by after birth; in both cases their defensive oral and genital "orgies" were the same.

Psychotherapists regularly encounter placental images in their practice, yet, because they cannot conceive of fetal mental life in the womb, they ascribe these images to other sources. The most famous placental images are known to psychoanalysts as "the Isakower phenomenon," which often occurs when falling asleep. It consists of a sense that one is floating, with a "shadowy and undifferentiated, usually round [object] which gets nearer and larger."[133] The floating and the round object are not, as therapists have assumed, memories of the mother's breasts; breasts come in twos and are rarely found floating. Isakower himself described the image accurately as a "disc," lying on top of him, an object another person said was shaped like a "balloon:" Other patients described it as follows:

I'm as small as a point-as if something heavy and large was lying on top of me-it doesn't crush me…I can draw in the lump as if it was dough-then I feel as if the whole thing was in my mouth…it's like a balloon…it's not unpleasant…[134]

a small cloud…became larger and larger. It enveloped everything…Somebody said it was poisonous…[135]

A large, black plastic container, which resembled a garbage bag…[136]

Besides the regression involved in falling asleep or hallucinations on the analytic couch, overt placental images are also found by clinicians in deeply regressed patients, who often hallucinate blood-sucking monsters persecuting them. Most of these monster-phobias are extremely frightening, the patients fearing blood-sucking spiders or vampires or octopuses or Medusas or sphinxes.[137] It simply makes no sense to call these blood-sucking beasts and spiders "phallic mothers," as Freud and Abraham did,[138] particularly when they are accompanied by umbilical droplines.[139] The vampire as a blood-drinking woman is another widespread fantasy; even when the vampire is Dracula, he is feminized by wearing a black satin cloak.[140] Only the memory of the Nurturant Placenta can fully explain why we drink Christ's blood, and only the memory of a Poisonous Placenta can explain why the Erinys suck blood and why devils are blood-red. Often both images are present at the same time in psychotics, as in the following description by Wilhelm Reich of his schizophrenic patient's hallucination of drinking from a bloody, round table:

They were drinking gallons of blood in front of me. The devil is red because of that and he gets redder and redder and then the blood goes to the sun and makes it on fire. Jesus was dripping blood on the cross by drops and this was being swallowed then he was seated on the side of the devil and drinking too-the table was round oblong of flowing thick blood (no feet on it). Mother Mary was at the corner watching. She was white as a sheet-All her blood had been drained off and consumed. She saw her son drinking that and suffered.[141]

Rosenfeld finds that images of being drained of blood are frequent in regressed patients, involving concrete "primitive psychotic body images" based on the notion that "the body contains nothing but liquids or blood and is enveloped by one or more arterial or venous

walls…the experience of draining of blood and being emptied corresponds to the breakdown of this psychological image of a wall or membrane containing liquid or blood."[142] A better image of the placenta cannot be imagined, though Rosenfeld didn't notice its uterine source. These patients often imagine that the analyst or others are literally sucking blood out of them. Mahler described a typical young patient of hers:

He was preoccupied with the fear of losing body substance, of being drained by his father and grandfather, with whom his body, he believed, formed a kind of communicating system of tubes. At night the father-grandfather part of the system drained him of the 'body juices of youth.' Survival depended on who was most successful in draining more life fluid from the others…He invented an elaborate heart machine which he could switch on and connect with his body's circulatory system so that he would never die.[143]

THE FETAL DRAMA IN HISTORY

However disguised, the Poisonous Placenta and the Suffering Fetus are the most important images of the fetal drama, and the restaging of their violent encounter is a central religious and political task of society. I suggest that this battle with the persecuting placental beast constitutes the earliest source of war and social violence, traumas that must be restaged periodically because of the neurobiological imperatives of early brain development. The center of society is wherever the fetal drama is restaged-as at Delphi, it is often called the "navel of the world," and is associated with placental World Tree worship.[144] The evolution of society occurs as this fetal drama moves from the tribe to the kingdom to the nation and is enacted with larger and larger numbers of people emotionally entrained by its sacrificial rituals.

Group-fantasies of poisonous blood become most widespread during periods of progress and prosperity. They are particularly ubiquitous during apocalyptic millenarian periods. Traditional historians have blamed these apocalyptic fantasies, such as the periodic "Great Awakenings" in America[145] or the millenarian movements in England,[146] upon "collective stress."[147] The problem is that these movements always occur during periods of progress, peace and prosperity, so these authors have had difficulty in locating the source of the social stress. When British millenarianists became entranced to a 64-year-old woman who said she was about to give birth to a second Christ,[148] or when Americans expected the end of the world in a final combat with the Great Beast of the Apocalypse and destroyed their goods in expectation of their coming rebirth[149] they did so during periods of prosperity, not social stress. What is feared and what leads to the deepest regression is growth and new challenges, a growth that threatens a repetition of early traumas.

Ancient societies used to believe that because of growing pollution the universe periodically threatened to dissolve in primordial waters, and unless a war was fought between a hero-an avenging fetus-and an asphyxiating sea-monster, the world would disappear.[150] The purpose of war and all other sacrificial blood-letting, says Frazer, was "to reinforce by a river of human blood the tide of life which might grow stagnant and stale in the veins of the dieties."[151] We believe the same right up into modern times; most nations have repeated the cleansing war ritual four times a century for as far back as historical records have survived.[152]

THE NEUROBIOLOGY OF EARLY TRAUMA

The neurobiological effects of trauma and neglect both prenatal and during childhood and the compulsion to restage early traumatic violence and inflict it upon others and upon one's self are becoming fairly well understood through recent advances in neuroscience. Inescapable dangers and intolerable stresses subject the brain to massive secretions and subsequent depletions of a variety of neurotransmitters, including norephinephrine, dopamine and serotonin, which lead to hypervigilance, explosive anger and excessive sensitivity to similar events in the future, which are experienced as though they were as dangerous as the earlier incident.[153] In addition, the hormones that flood the brain to mobilize it in the face of threats, especially cortisol, have been found to be toxic to cells in the hippocampus, the part of the brain that, along with the thalamus, is the center of the neural system for consciousness, actually killing neurons and reducing the size of the hippocampus, making retrieval and therefore modification of early traumas nearly impossible.[154] It is this process that constitutes "repression," which is really dissociation, an inability to retrieve memories rather than a forgetting. Thus, without the ability to remember and modify early traumas through new experiences, the brain continues to interpret ordinary stressors as recurrences of traumatic events long after the original trauma has ceased.

Paranoid results are particularly true of the earliest traumas of fetal and infantile life. This is so because the hippocampus is quite immature until the third or fourth year of life, and therefore the early trauma is encoded in the emotional memory system centering in the amygdala and extending particularly to the prefrontal cortex, the center of emotions[155] memories which have been described as being nearly "impervious to extinction."[156] Early traumas, coded in this thalamo-amygdalan-cortical memory system, record fearful memories that remain powerful for life, long after the cognitive memories of the traumatic event itself are forgotten.[157] Infants, for instance, who experience premature births or eating disorders at birth often fear all new arousals, as though they represented the same threat to life as birth once did.[158] This is why Piontelli's fetus, who licked her placenta and masturbated in utero, continued compulsively to lick her mother's breast and masturbate after birth, warding off her earliest uterine dangers. It is also relevant to our hypothesis that early emotional traumas are intimately linked with social behavior to note that the amygdala-where these early trauma are recorded-is recognized as playing a central role in the social behavior of animals. For instance, removal of the amygdalae produces social isolates in most nonhuman primates, while having devastating consequences on their ability to mother, often resulting in death for their infants.[159]

In addition, the continuing low serotonin levels and high noradrenaline levels produced by trauma decrease normal aggressive inhibitions (serotonin being the main soothing neurotransmitter and noradrenaline being the main stress hormone) to such an extent that low serotonin and high noradrenaline have been reliably shown to be central to social violence of both humans and other primates.[160] Monkeys who have early traumas have low serotonin and high noradrenaline levels, and are "nasty, hostile, crazy," often killing their peers for no reason,[161] while traumatized children with low serotonin have more disruptive behavior[162] and compulsively restage their traumas in their play with peers, both in order to maintain some control over its timing anything to avoid re-experiencing their helplessness and also because they can thereby identify with the aggressor.[163] Others repeat their original traumas by self-injury, as did the patient who tried to commit suicide by putting his head beneath his car and causing it to

crush his skull, saying God had told him "to kill myself to be reborn," thus concretely restaging his earlier experience of having his head stuck in the birth passage.[164]

The amount of maternal stress necessary for traumatizing the fetus and child is astonishingly little:

Monkeys born to mothers who listened to ten minutes of random noise each day during mid-and late pregnancy had higher noradrenaline livels than normal mokeys. The hyped-up monkeys were impulsive, overresponsive, and had fewer social skills as infants. When the prenatally stressed monkeys got to be the equivalent of preteens, their noradrenaline was till high and their behavior still abnormally hostile and aggressive…[165]

Later traumas, abandonments and betrayals of childhood are then recorded in the same amygdalan early emotional memory system laid down by fetal traumas. Evidence for this fetal matrix for later trauma is everywhere to be found, only we have so far been unaware of its meaning and overlooked it. For instance, when a gunman came into Cleveland Elementary School in 1989 and fired wave after wave of bullets at children in the playground, killing many of them, the trauma was "seared into the children's memory…Whenever we hear an ambulance on its way to the rest home down the street, everything halts…The kids all listen to see if it will stop here or go on," said one teacher.[166] But the childhood trauma also stirred up the fetal level of fear, that of the Poisonous Placenta: "For several weeks many children were terrified of the mirrors in the restrooms; a rumor swept the school that 'Bloody Virgin Mary,' some kind of fantasized monster, lurked there."[167] All danger appears to tap into our earliest fetal fears, even though most of our developmental history stems from events of childhood proper.

Childhood itself, of course, particularly its earliest years, provides most of the content for the restagings in history. There is evidence that good childrearing can reverse the long-term effects of fetal stress. In a study of 698 infants born in Hawaii in 1955 with pre- or perinatal complications, it was found that those who experienced both fetal trauma and childhood rejection were twice as likely to have received some form of mental health help before age ten due to learning or behavioral problems, including repeated delinquencies, while those who had a close bond with at least one caretaker responded by showing a decrease in the effects of the early trauma.[168] So even though fetal trauma has long-lasting effects, and even though few historical events are without traces of fetal imagery, the main source of historical change is still the evolution of childhood.

CULTURE AND HISTORY AS HOMEOSTATIC MECHANISMS

The social restaging of early trauma and neglect, predicated upon damaged neuronal and hormonal systems, is thus a homeostatic mechanism of the brain, achieved by nations through wars, economic domination and social violence. Each of us constructs a separate neural system for these early traumas and their defenses-a dissociated, organized personality system that stores, defends against and elaborates these early fetal, infantile and childhood traumas as we grow up. Once this basic concept is realized, all the rationalizations of history become transparent; for instance, when Germans say they must start WWII to get "revenge for the Day of Shame," one can ignore the ostensible reference (The Treaty of Versailles) and recognize instead the real

source of "German shame"-the routine humiliations, beatings, sexual abuse and betrayals of German children by their caretakers.

The initial fetal matrix of the organization of these traumas is obvious. Children's playgrounds are full of fetal objects, from swings that repeat amniotic rocking to birth tunnels and slides-all enjoyed by children who must remember their fetal life, since they generally have not as yet been told about where babies grow. Infants cling to pillows and Teddy Bears and watch television programs like "The Care Bears," which features baby bears with rainbow umbilicuses coming out of their tummies and has an evil "Dr. Coldheart" who tries to push black, poisonous wastes into their umbilicuses. Growing children organize fetal games, hitting, kicking and throwing around placental membranes (one, the football, even egg-shaped, that we rebirth through our legs) and reenacting birth when passing them through upright legs or vaginal hoops. We likewise relive our birth when we celebrate Christmas as a rebirth ritual, complete with a placental tree and a Santa Claus-a chubby blood-red fetus going down his birth chimney attached to his placental bag-not to mention such thrills as bungee-jumping our rebirth at the end of a long umbilicus or throwing ourselves into mosh pits to be reborn at rock concerts.[169] Similarly, all religions contain at their center the Suffering Fetus and its Poisonous Placenta, whether it is the dismembered, suffering Osiris or the bleeding Christ on his placental cross or the dead Elvis, at whose grave a mass veneration takes place beneath a giant placental heart and a soundtrack of him singing the song "Hurt."[170] The central religious aim of reuniting with the placenta can even be seen in the origin of the word religion "re-ligare," that is, "to unite again."

History as a homeostatic mechanism which is needed to regulate the emotional disfunctions of the brain is a central concept of my psychogenic theory. I consider it impossible to understand historical events without an understanding of modern neurobiology. For instance, the fact that damaged amygdala function is found in paranoid schizophrenics[171] leads one to question if the paranoid mood of nations before and during wars may be related to real, measurable diminished amygdalan functioning which, combined with reduced serotonin levels and other neurotransmitter imbalances, appear to cause our periodic searches for enemies. The leader's function is, in this view, similar to that of a psychiatrist administering prescriptions for wars and depressions as psychological "uppers" and "downers," designed to restore homeostatic equilibrium in the brains of a nation ravaged by surging neurotransmitters and other hormones.

THE LEADER AS POISON CONTAINER

Because the fetus's umbilicus is like a pulsing fifth limb and because the placenta is the fetus's first love object, I believe we so deeply experience the loss of our umbilicus/placenta that we walk around feeling we have still a "phantom placenta"-the same phenomenon as the "phantom limb" experienced by amputees[172] and are constantly looking for a leader or a flag or a god to serve as its substitute. Just as gods are imagined as beings "from whom all blessings flow," leaders are seen as beings "from whom all power flows." In ancient Egypt, people saved the actual placenta of the Pharaoh and put it on a pole which they carried into battle; it was the first flag in history.[173] In America, we still ritually worship our placental flag with its red arteries and blue veins at the end of a umbilical flagpole-in public gatherings. In Baganda, they put the king's placenta on a throne, pray to it and receive messages from it through their priests.[174] We do the same when we look to the sky for UFOs high-tech placental disks that we hope might have messages for us.[175] Lawson has even experimentally correlated UFO abduction scenarios with the

actual birth experiences of the abducted, those who had normal vaginal births imagining tunnel experiences during abduction while those who had caesarean births experienced being yanked up by the UFO without the tunnel images.[176]

4:4 The leader as a poisonous container

The yearning for a phantom placenta a "poison container" for our dangerous emotions to be our leader, and the search for a Poisonous Placenta to be our enemy with whom we can fight, are the central tasks of all social organizations, prior to any utility they may have. Leaders are not mothers or fathers, and they are not always idealized. They are poison containers for our feelings. Poison containers are objects into which we can dump our disowned feelings, just as we once pumped our polluted blood into the placenta, hoping for it to be cleansed. We ascribe to poison containers all kinds of magical placental significances, including the power to cleanse our emotions, which are felt to be like polluted blood in accordance with their fetal origin. When the leader appears unable to handle these emotions, when he appears to be weakening and abandoning us, when our progress in life seems to involve too much independence and we re-experience our early abandonment by our placenta and our parents, we begin to look for enemies to inflict our traumas upon.[177]

WAR AS A SACRIFICIAL RITUAL

War, then, is a sacrificial ritual designed to defend against fears of individuation and maternal engulfment by restaging our early traumas upon scapegoats. This theory is the exact opposite of the "social stress" theories of all other social scientists, since it is usually successes freedom and new challenges that are experienced as triggers for wars, not economic distress or political stresses. The war ritual is the final chapter of the reshearsing of early traumas that we all experience as we grow up, from the 18,000 murders the average child sees on TV to the bullying of scapegoats children practice on school playgrounds and the sports we play in which we rehearse the mental mechanisms necessary to dominate other groups and turn them into "enemies" (the truth reflected in the saying that "British wars are won on the Rugby fields").

That war is sacrifical, not utilitarian, and aims at reducing progress and prosperity is shown by the finding that major wars almost always occur after a sustained economic upswing. Not only are there many more wars after periods of prosperity, but they are much longer and bigger, "six to twenty times bigger as indicated by battle fatalities."[178] Wars sacrifice youth symbols of our potency and hopefulness because it is our striving, youthful, independent selves that we blame

for getting us into trouble in the first place. Wars are always preemptive attacks on enemies we create-enemies we must find "out there" to relieve the paranoia of having enemies "inside our heads" who resent our good fortunes. Most wars start "for the sake of peace" because we really believe we can have inner peace if we stop our progress and individuation, if we sacrifice our striving self. Only if we can stop growing can we protect ourselves from our most horrible fear-the repetition of our earliest tragedies.
War, then, is a cleansing ritual sacrifice that is staged as a four-act drama:

1. We begin to reexperience our early traumas when we fee too much freedom, prosperity and individuation-wars are usually fought after a period of peace, prosperity and social progress produced by a minority who have had better childrearing, producing challenges that are experienced as threatening by the majority whose childrearing is so traumatic that too much growth and independence produces an abandonment panic, fears of a persecutory mother-figure, a defensive merging with the engulfing mother and then fears by men of having been turned into women.[179]

2. We deify a leader who is a poison container into whom we can pump our frightening feelings, our "bad blood" you can see this blood-transfer concretely when Nazis put up their arms like an umbilicus and throw their bad feelings their "bad blood" into Hitler for cleansing, while he catches their feelings with an open palm, standing under a swastika (the ancient symbol of the placenta) imprinted upon a blood-red flag, the hypermasculine leader becoming society's protector by finding an enemy to persecute rather than individuals reliving their early tragedies alone and helpless.

3. We restage our early helplessness, humiliation and revenge-terror fantasies with another nation who needs to act out their violence-minor insults are experienced as so humiliating that even a holocaust can be worth their revenge-as President Kennedy said as he considered whether to risk an apocalyptic nuclear war in the Cuban Missile Crisis, "If Krushchev wants to rub my nose in the dirt, it's all over."[180] When progress and new challenges evoke paranoid fears of jealous enemies and wishes/fears of engulfing mommies, nations collude in a trance-like state to fight to defend against their delusional loss of potency.

4. We go to war by restaging our terrors in the social sphere, inflicting our traumas upon our most vital selves, our youth wars are not, as often said, "outlets for human aggression" in fact, nations usually feel a new strength as they go to war, just as wife-beating husbands become calm and self-righteous as they beat up their spouses;[181] so, too, nations experience a manic strength as they fight to destroy the poisonous enemy, revenge their traumas, regain their lost virility and be reborn into a New World Order. These stages on the road to war can be monitored through a fantasy analysis of a nation's emotional life. Whether they can also be confirmed by changes in neurobiological markers for instance, whether nations prior to wars experience measureable surges in adrenaline and noradrenaline stress hormones and a manic surge in dopamine levels-is yet to be investigated.

The imagery of war as a restaging of birth is ubiquitous. Consider just the birth imagery surrounding the nuclear bomb. When Ernest Lawrence telegramed to his fellow physicists that the bomb was ready to test, his cable read, "Congratulations to the new parents. Can hardly wait

to see the new arrival."[182] When the bomb was exploded at Los Alamos, a journalist wrote, "One felt as though he had been privileged to witness the Birth of the World…the first cry of the newborn world."[183] When President Truman met with world leaders at Postdam just before dropping the bomb on Japan, General Grove cabled him reporting that its second test was successful: "Doctor has just returned most enthusiastic and confident that The Little Boy is as husky as his big brother…I could have heard his screams from here…"[184] When the Hiroshima bomb, named "Little Boy," was dropped from the belly of a plane named after the pilot's mother, General Groves cabled Truman, "The baby was born." Even the survivors of the Hiroshima explosion usually referred to the bomb as "the original child."[185] Similarly, when the first hydrogen bomb, termed "Teller's baby," was exploded, Edward Teller's telegram read, "It's a boy."[186] Obviously nukes are felt to be powerful babies perfect avenging fetuses. With them, our revenge for our early traumas can now be infinite: war finally can destroy every "dangerous mother" on earth. One can see why Truman, hearing that the world's first nuclear bomb had just been dropped, exclaimed, "This is the greatest thing in history!"[187]

PROSPERITY PANICS AND INTERNAL SACRIFICES

Wars are sacrificial defenses that have proven to be effective in reducing fears of ego disintegration due to prosperity panic. But even more effective than sacrificing mothers and children in external wars is the internal, institutionalized wars against mothers and children that nations conduct periodically as social policy. Structural violence (excess deaths because of poverty alone) amount to 15 million persons a year world wide, compared to an average 100,000 deaths per year from wars.[188] Economic recessions hurt and kill more mothers and children as sacrificial victims than most wars.[189] As in foreign wars (external sacrifices), political and economic wars against mothers and children (internal sacrifices) are regularly conducted during periods of peace and prosperity. These internal wars parallel the regressive images we have been discussing; for instance, as William Joseph found in studying the 1929 and 1987 stock market crashes, images of dangerous women proliferated in the media, indicating that the time for internal sacrifice was near.[190]

In America, in the mid-90s, after a period of peace and prosperity and particularly after the demise of The Evil Empire that can be blamed for the nation's emotional disorders dangerous women images multiplied in the media, and enemies were felt to be inside rather than abroad. Reductions in food, welfare, education and health care for women and children became the national goal. After being obsessed with watching for an entire year the trial of someone accused of being a mother-murderer, O. J. Simpson, it is no coincidence that Americans were then united in wanting to cut welfare for mothers and their children, acting out their own mother-murder scenario. Europe, too, began feeling that the Welfare State-imagined as a dangerous, engulfing Medusa-was an enemy that had to be destroyed.[191] That women and children were the real enemies of the "G.O.P. Revolution" was not denied. As Newt Gingrich put it, "The Welfare State has created the moral decay of the world. We have barbarity after barbarity…brutality after brutality. And we shake our heads and say, 'Well, what's going wrong?' What's going wrong is a welfare system which subsidized people for doing nothing…And then we end up with the final culmination of a drug-addicted underclass with no sense of humanity…"[192]Simpson and Gingrich, both our delegates were somehow uncanny, but nontheless caried out the nation's unconscious sacrificial group-fantasies all the same.

That a prosperous America has arranged to have so many people needing welfare is a clue to why nations need poor people to punish for their prosperity. Since it is prosperity and the fear of intolerable growth that triggers the restaging of trauma, it makes psychohistorical sense that America today-the most prosperous and freest nation of any in history-has more women and children living in poverty than any other industrialized nation. American child poverty rates are four times those of most European nations, and are getting worse recently.[193] It is national policy: "children do not catch poverty but are made poor by state neglect."[194] While France manages to afford excellent child care centers for preschoolers, child care in America is a disaster, with only 15 percent of the centers of "high quality," while the bottom 15 percent are in "childcare centers of such poor quality that their health or development is threatened."[195] Nor is it coincidental that the world's wealthiest country has the highest child homicide rate[196] and outside of Israel the most newborn boys circumcised,[197] both indices of society's hostility towards children.

Economic success gives people increased opportunities for individuation; national prosperity and peace are therefore dangerous ("If I grow and enjoy myself, something terrrible will happen"). Periods of extended prosperity without excternal "enemies" therefore produce prosperity panics that require sacrificial victims, whether in Hebrew or Aztec ritual sacrifice yesterday or in today's economic cycles. In good economic times, such as in 1996, legislators in America, with the support of the majority of citizens, vigorously cut all kinds of aid to children. In New York City, 39 percent of the children are on welfare; in Chicago, 46 percent, in Detroit, 67 percent, and anti-welfare legislation was everywhere put into effect.[198]With the largest Gross Domestic Product of any nation at any time in history, America has 75 percent of the world's child deaths by homicide, suicide and firearms, overwhelmingly leading the way for violence-related deaths of children.[199] In 1996, at the peak of our current prosperity, Americans of both parties, with the approval of the President, cut nutrition assistance for 14 million children and Social Security for 750,000 disabled children, along with cuts in school lunches, Head Start, child protection, education, child health care and aid to homeless children-what the president of the Children's Defense Fund described as "an unbelievable budget massacre of the weakest."[200]

The media noticed the posperity panic, but are puzzled as to its cause, after four prosperous years. The magazine cover that showed a depressed Uncle Sam with the headline "If the Economy Is Up, Why Is America Down?" could more accurately have been worded, "Because the Economy Is Up, America Is Feeling Down."[201] Cutting funds for Head Start was in fact necessary to punish the striving child in ourselves. Sen. Patrick Moynihan, calling the legislation "an obscene act of social regression that visits upon children the wrath of an electorate," predicted the cuts in Aid to Families with Dependent Children alone will put millions of children on the street.[202] "It is beyond imagining that we will do this," Moynihan said. "In the middle of the Great Depression, we provided a Federal guarantee of some provision for children, dependent children. In the middle of the roaring 90's, we're taking it away."[203] We were so bent on punishing children for our own prosperity that we cut even funds for school lunches, despite there being 12 million American children today who are so malnourished that it has damaged their brains.[204] But scapegoating children in prosperous times isn't paradoxical; it's a psychohistorical regularity.

That the group-fantasies behind cutting benefits for women and children are similar to the blood-sucking fantasies discussed above could be seen in any of the flood of vampire movies that

appeared at the same time, often featuring bloodthirsty mother figures, or in the fantasies of those in Congress and the

4:5 Government as Devouring Vampire

media who claimed that welfare recipients were "bleeding us dry" and "sucking the blood out of the citizenry [like] a giant leech"-punishment for which was for the government to "suck the blood" out of welfare recipients (Illustration 3:6).[205] As Presidential candidate Sen. Phil Gramm said, "If we continue to pay mothers who have illegitimate children, the country will soon have more illegitimate than legitimate children," all feeding off of him, a scenario that is his projection of the needy "baby Phil" demanding "MORE!" who was threatening to "eat up American resources." Bad, sinful babies were seen as deserving to be punished as scapegoats for the country's guilty prosperity. Historically, during every period of prosperity and peace in American history (such as in the 1850s and the 1890s), there has been legislation by the newly wealthy to stop welfare for what they called "the undeserving poor." Anti-welfare legislation, now as then, had nothing to do with saving money; in fact, the cuts would cost a hundred times more than their savings through increases in drug addiction, theft and murder. Each time legislators condemn "moral decay" and "a breakdown in family values"-code words for fear of freedom-they only mean that in fantasy social collapse can be avoided by "ending dependency"-code words for punishing poor children, symbols of their own dependency needs.

That punishing children, not saving money, is the aim of the legislation becomes clear when the effects of each cutback is actually costed out. For instance, the cuts in the Federal Supplemental Security Income program not only reduce allowances for poor crippled children by 25 percent, they also throw hundreds of thousands of disabled children off the program. This means, as one commentator put it, that

their families are so marginal economically that the additional cost of caring for a child with spina bifida or profound mental retardation is literally unbearable. So the kids will get dumped into state homes, thus costing the taxpayers significantly more than the allowances that enable their families to care for them. Not only cruel, but dumb as well.[206]

But legislators are not dumb at all, only cruel, purposely cruel, for the sake of all of us. Which is why we elect them to "balance the budget," that is, to conduct a restaging of all the early cruelties done to us, a warding off of the punishment we expect for our prosperity, inflicting our early terrors upon society's scapegoats: helpless, vulnerable children. Like war, the sacrifice of

women and children is promised to result in a magical "rebirth of national vitality" that is well worth the difficult "labor pains" of passing the new welfare legislation.[207]

ENDING FETAL AND CHILD ABUSE

Although these conclusions about the relative permanence of early trauma and its inevitable restaging in war, social violence and economic injustice admittedly appear to be discouraging, an awareness of the source of human violence can actually be enormously hopeful. For if early traumas rather than "aggressive human nature" are the cause of our violence, then efforts to radically reduce these traumas can be reasonably expected to reduce war and social domination. If, rather than continuing the millennia-old historical cycle of traumatized adults inflicting their inner terrors upon their children, we try kindness instead, effectively helping mothers and children as a society rather than burdening, abandoning or punishing them, we will soon be able to end our need to reenact our traumatic memories on the social stage. Let me describe why I believe this radical reduction of violence is possible in our society today.

The studies that I cited earlier on maternal rejection included solid statistical evidence showing that when babies are unwanted by their mothers and have birth complications they will, when they become teenagers, commit four times the number of violent crimes as those who are wanted. If this four-to-one ratio holds for most restagings of early trauma, then reducing this trauma to just a small fraction of what it is today can be expected to save almost 75 percent of the cost of social violence. I estimate the yearly cost of American social violence, external and internal sacrifices combined, to be over $1 trillion per annum, adding up the cost of most of the military, the interest on the debt, which is all for recent wars, most of the criminal justice system, the loss of life and property in crime, and so on. The savings, then, would be 75 percent of $1 trillion, or $750 billion per annum. The only question is: How is it possible to eliminate most early trauma and child abuse, and what would it cost to do this?

The answer to this question is no longer merely theoretical. A decade ago, a psychohistorian, Robert McFarland, M.D., reasoned that if my psychogenic theory of history is right, he should be able to improve both the health and the wealth of his community in Boulder, Colorado, by reaching out to every new mother before her baby was born and help her to welcome and then parent her child, a task society usually believes does not require help from the community. Two issues of our Journal of Psychohistory, entitled "Ending Child Abuse," and "Changing Childhood,"[208] were devoted to showing how effective parent outreach centers can be centers which have been replicated in several other states describing such activities as facilities to new mothers, prenatal services, parenting discussion groups, baby massage courses, single mother help, fathering courses, puppet shows, lectures on how to discipline children without hitting, psychotherapy referrals and home visiting during early years. All these are provided on a shoestring budget, mainly with volunteer and paraprofessional help, using local community resources. By providing this prenatal and early childhood help, fetal and child abuse-as measured by physical and sexual abuse reports, hospital records of injuries, and followup studies-have been drastically reduced. No new mother or father wants to reject or abuse their baby, the formula for baby battering being, "I had my baby to give me the love I never got; but instead she cried and sounded like my mother yelling at me, so I hit her." What McFarland and others found was that providing new parents with help and hope allowed their underlying affection to replace the abuse that comes from fear, abandonment and despair.

The cost? Since McFarland stresses local community resources and volunteer labor, very little. Even when he has expanded his parenting centers to include day care facilities, he expects a local sales tax of one-tenth of one percent to be sufficient to run the entire enterprise, a very small "children's tax" that would represent the community's commitment to invest in their children's future. A similar sales tax in every community in the nation would produce .1 percent times $5 trillion in yearly retail sales in America or $5 billion a year in tax revenues, about the cost of two of the B2 bombers the military is building that they admit are not needed. The savings, then, 15 to 20 years from now, if we should decide to save our children from early traumas, would be $750 billion per year saved, less $5 billion invested annually, or $745 billion per year net savings, far more than enough to end poverty forever in America. This does not even begin to consider the additional trillions we currently spend on drugs, gambling and other addictions that handle the pain of early traumas, activities which are likely to wither away without their traumatic underpinnings.

INVESTING IN THE REAL WEALTH OF NATIONS

We regularly decide to invest hundreds of billions of dollars in technology hoping for future benefits, under the notion that material investments invariably produce prosperity. But Adam Smith was not radical enough when he said the wealth of nations lay in its investment in technology. The real wealth of nations is its children, since every scientific and technological revolution has been preceded by a childrearing revolution. Investing in the mental and physical health of children by preventing damage to their brains from early traumatic experiences must accompany investments in material technologies, or else any resulting prosperity will continue to be destroyed in wars and social violence. Few people realize that the cost of eliminating poverty entirely for all children in America is only $39 billion, one-half of one percent of our gross domestic product, or about the same amount as we waste financing the CIA.[209] A healthful, loving childhood without trauma isn't expensive; in fact it saves trillions of dollars. And it's the most important goal of mankind.

In the past two prosperous decades, we have purposely brought about through our social policies an increase in the percentage of children living in spirit-crushing poverty in America by over one-third, from 15 percent to 22 percent, which will soon make life in America more violent than it had been when we were much less prosperous. "We are underinvested in our childre," says Frederick Goodwin. "We spend seven times more per capita on the elderly than we do on children….we are wasting a tremendous resource."[210] The connections between early traumas and neglect are everywhere, yet we continue to insist on policies that are guaranteed to increase social violence and to undo the progress and prosperity we work so hard to achieve.

It may seem simplistic to conclude that most of human destructiveness is the restaging of early traumas and that what we must do if we wish to put an end to war and social violence is teach adults how to stop abusing and neglecting and begin respecting and enjoying their children, but I believe this is precisely what our best scientific evidence shows.

Our task, then, is clear and our resources sufficient to make the world safe for the first time in our long, violent history. All it takes now is the will to begin.

Chapter 5: The Psychogenic Theory of History

"Trauma demands repetition"
Selma Fraiberg

Social scientists have rarely been interested in psychology. Using the model of Newtonian physics, they have usually depicted individuals as opaque billiard balls bouncing off each other. That individuals might have their own complex internal motivations for the way they act in society-that they have emotions that affect their social behavior-has rarely been acknowledged. The most interesting question about any group, one which we asked even as children-"Why are they doing that?"-is rarely asked in academia. Durkheim, in fact, founded sociology with studies of suicide and incest that claimed these very private acts were wholly without individual psychological causes, claiming that understanding individual motivations is irrelevant to understanding society.[1] By eliminating psychology from the social sciences, Durkheim laid down the principle followed by most social theorists today: "The determining cause of a social fact should be sought among the social facts preceding it and not among the states of individual consciousness."[2]

THE DENIAL OF PSYCHOLOGY IN THE STUDY OF SOCIETY

Sociologists still echo Durkheim's bias against psychology. Most agree with the sociologist C. Wright Mills, who advised me when I was his research assistant at Columbia University, "Study enough psychology to make sure you can answer the bastards when they attack you." Sociologist Thomas Scheff agrees: "There is a strong tradition in modern scholarship in the human sciences of ignoring emotions as causes."[3] Political scientists follow the same assumptions: "Political attitudes are generally assumed to be the result of a rational, reflective process."[4] Most anthropologists concur; as Murdock summed up their view, "The science of culture is independent of the laws of biology and psychology."[5] Those anthropologists, from Roheim, Deveraux and LaBarre to Whiting, Munroe and Spiro,[6] who began studying the effects of childhood on culture have been grossly ignored by other anthropological theorists. In fact, most anthropologists today are so opposed to psychological analysis of cultures the distinguished series The Psychoanalytic Study of Society has recently been terminated for lack of interest, the number of psychoanalytic anthropologists having dwindled in recent years. Anthropology, says Clifford Geertz, isn't even a "hard science;"[7] it's more like literature it's telling stories. Even those few anthropologists who belong to the Society for Psychological Anthropology have managed to avoid emotional life so completely that their journal, Ethos, which does contain psychological articles, recently had to remind anthropologists that "culture consists of ideas in people, not meanings in tokens."[8]

Unfortunately, the anthropologist's central concept that "culture determines social behavior" is simply a tautology. Since "culture" only means "the total pattern of human behavior" (Webster), to say "culture is what makes a group do such and such" is merely stating that a group's behavior

causes its behavior. Even if culture is restricted to "shared beliefs," it is purely tautological to then speak of "cultural causation," since all this could mean is "a group of individuals believe something because they all believe it." Culture is explanandum, not explanans. Ever since Kroeber launched cultural determinism as the central anthropological theory early in the century,[9] tautological explanations have dominated the social sciences as is apparent in Lowie's claim that culture is "a thing sui generis, the formula being omnia cultura ex cultura."[10] That this tautological circularity has made anthropological evolutionary theory sterile is slowly becoming evident. In fact, according to Tooby and Cosmides, the Standard Social Science Model of cultural determinism has recently collapsed. This model, they say, states that "the cultural and social elements that mold the individual precede the individual and are external to the individual. The mind did not create them; they created the mind,"[11] a theory that turns out, they say, to explain nothing:

A large and rapidly growing body of research from a diversity of disciplines has shown that…the Standard Social Science Model is…impossible…It could not have evolved; it requires an incoherent developmental biology; it cannot account for the observed problem-solving abilities of humans or the functional dimension of human behavior…it has repeatedly been empirically falsified; and it cannot even explain how humans learn their culture or their language.[12] Most historians, too, have assiduously avoided psychology, going along with Paul Veyne in believing that history "consists in saying what happened," little more[13] or trying to explain history by "impersonal structural forces," as though such a passionate human enterprise as history could be "impersonal." The result is that I have at least a hundred books on war on my shelf, and I don't recall seeing the word "anger" in any of them. Nor does the word "love" appear very often in any of the hundreds of books of history, sociology or political science on my shelves, though most of history has origins in problems of insufficient human love and all of its derivatives. Most historians are a priori relativists, avoiding any attempt to see personal meaning in historical events, agreeing with Hayden White, history's leading theoretician, in claiming "there are no grounds to be found in the historical record itself for preferring one way of construing its meaning over another."[14] Only the recent disciplines of political psychology and psychohistory have begun to consider inner meanings and motivations as the focus of causation in social theory.[15]

This passionate denial of the influence of individual developmental psychology on society has been at the center of the social sciences since their beginnings. The actions of individuals in society have a priori been assumed by social philosophers from Hobbes to Marx to be determined by pure self-interest, "a war of every man against every man," based on an assumed selfish nature of humanity.[16] The same is true of economics. As one economist puts it, "Economic man must be both rational and greedy."[17] In fact, Hobbesian models have been accepted by John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Edmund Burke, Karl Marx and all their contemporary followers-their theories differ only in the arrangements of social institutions suggested by the authors to handle this basic rational selfishness.

Social behavior, using these models, cannot therefore be (a) irrational (because all men use only reason to achieve their goals), (b) empathic (because empathy for others would not be totally self-interested), (c) self-destructive (because no one can rationally ever want to hurt themselves), nor (d) sadistic (because people don't waste their resources just to harm others). At most, people

might be shortsighted or uninformed in their social behavior, but not unreasonable, benevolent, suicidal or vicious-i.e., not human.

The exclusion of the most powerful human feelings other than greed from social and political theory plus the elimination of irrationality and self-destructiveness from models of society explains why the social sciences have such a dismal record in providing any historical theories worth studying. As long as "social structure" and "culture" are deemed to lie outside human psyches, motivations are bound to be considered secondary, reactive solely to outside conditions rather than themselves being determinative for social behavior.

Nor have the few attempts by social and political theorists to use psychoanalytic theory to explain history been very successful. This is true whether the theorists have been sociologists, like Marcuse or Parsons, or psychoanalysts, like Freud or Róheim.[18] Outside of a handful of psychoanalytic anthropologists, most rely on the same basic Hobbesian model of society, with selfish individuals remorselessly fighting each other for utilitarian goals, rather than analyzing how individuals actually relate in groups in history. The reason for this failure of social and political theory bears some scrutiny, as it will allow us to move away from an ahistorical, drive-based psychology to a historical, trauma-based psychology that can be used in understanding historical change. But first we will have to know something about the effects of childrearing on adult personality.

THE QUESTION OF THE EFFECTS OF CHILD ABUSE

Ever since Jeffrey Masson wrote his book The Assault on the Truth: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory,[19] there has been a widespread misconception that Freud backed down from maintaining the reality of childhood sexual abuse. The truth is exactly the opposite. Freud continued all his life to state that sexual abuse of children in his society was widespread, insisting in his final writings that "I cannot admit [that] I exaggerated the frequency [of] seduction," that "most analysts will have treated cases in which such [incestuous] events were real and could be unimpeachably established," that "actual seduction…is common enough," that "the sexual abuse of children is found with uncanny frequency among school teachers and child attendants," and that "phantasies of being seduced are of particular interest, because so often they are not phantasies but real memories."[20] What he actually "backed down" from was his initial idea that hysteria could be caused by sexual abuse, since, he said, "sexual assaults on small children happen too often for them to have any aetiological importance…"[21] That is, it was because children were so commonly sexually abused in his society that Freud thought that seduction could not be the cause of hysteria. Otherwise, nearly everyone would be a hysteric! The only opinion he changed as he gained clinical experience, Freud said, was that further information now became available relating to people who had remained normal, and this led to the unexpected finding that the sexual history of their childhood did not necessarily differ in essentials from that of neurotics, and, in particular, that the part played by seduction was the same in both cases.[22]

Even though the notion is now widely accepted that Freud "changed his mind" on the reality of widespread childhood sexual abuse in his society, this is not so. A few psychoanalysts recently have begun to read what Freud actually wrote and have discovered that "what Freud rejected was not patients' reports of incest and seduction but rather his reconstruction of fragments of the

patient's memories that he initially inferred to indicate an earlier seduction…."[23] i.e., his guesses about the first three years of life.[24] He did not change his mind and call most seduction memories fantasy; in fact, as one psychoanalyst concludes, "Neither Freud nor other analysts have apparently ever published a case in which a patient told of a parental seduction that turned out to be a verifiable fantasy."[25]

The truth is that Freud and most everyone else in his society knew very well what I have since confirmed by my research into the history of child assault: that the overwhelming majority of all children throughout history were sexually abused.[26] The sexual abuse of children today is still very widespread, though it is now less than in the past. A century ago, the majority of children were probably abused. In a paper called "The Universality of Incest," I have examined current surveys of child sexual abuse around the world-defined as actual genital contact, usually involving penetration-with figures of about 50 percent for America, Canada and England and much higher figures for the Near and Far East.[27] The percentages a century ago were likely even higher as I have documented in "The Evolution of Childhood" and as will be further documented in this book since most people thought having sex with children was harmless because "they soon forgot about it." Indeed, Freud said he himself was sexually seduced as a child by his "teacher in sexual matters," his childhood nursemaid.[28]

A PREVIEW OF THE RECENT HISTORY OF CHILD ASSAULT

Both men and women have commonly used children sexually throughout history. Mothers and other caretakers used their children as erotic objects, and were often instructed by doctors to masturbate their little boys "to make their penises grow longer."[29] The author of the nineteenth century's standard work on The Sexual Life of Children, Albert Moll, said he observed that nursemaids and servants often carried out "all sorts of sexual acts" on children "for fun."[30] Freud agreed, saying that "nursemaids, governesses and domestic servants [were] guilty of [grave sexual] abuses,"[31]that "seduction is common…initiated…by someone in charge of the child who wants to soothe it, or send it to sleep or make it dependent on them" and that "nurses put crying children to sleep by stroking their genitals."[32] Freud was straightforward about how common the erotic use of children was by parents and others, referring to "the 'affection' shown by the child's parents and those who look after him, which seldom fails to betray its erotic nature ('the child is an erotic plaything')…"[33]

Men throughout history have commonly raped little boys and girls, as far back as antiquity when pederasty was a regular part of every boy's life and the rape of little girls was so common that many doctors reported that intact hymens in girls were considered a rare abnormality.[34] By Freud's time, incest was still so widespread that doctors visiting homes of men who had venereal diseases often discovered that their children had the same disease on their anuses, mouths or genitals.[35] Doctors concluded that "sexual acts committed against children are very frequent," particularly by fathers.[36] Children including Freud, whose family lived in a one-room apartment[37] usually slept in their parents' or nursemaid's bed during childhood, which made them available for taking a part in the parent's sexual intercourse.[38] In working-class families, where seduction was less secretive, the sexual abuse of girls by their fathers and brothers was so widely acknowledged that they often joked about their babies being products of incestuous intercourse.[39] Most adults believed that until the age of 5 or so little children did not really remember what was done to them, so they could be sexually molested without

consequences.[40] Child rape, including incest, was rarely prosecuted, for, as one man said coming out of a trial during which a man had been let go after raping a little girl, "What nonsense! Men should not be punished for a thing like that. It doesn't harm the child."[41] Incest even today is usually considered a minor felony, probation-eligible, similar to adultery; in fact, virtually all child sexual abuse today goes unpunished, because it is either undiscovered or unprosecuted or routinely plea-bargained.[42] Nor was the massive sexual use of children in Freud's time so hidden. Just as today there are 100 million child prostitutes around the world,[43] during the nineteenth century they were even more prevalent, since every city had child prostitutes available in quantity for any man who had a bit of available change.[44]

Nor was the beating of children a practice to which most adults in history were addicted considered traumatic to the child by Freud and his contemporaries. Severe, routine beating under the guise of discipline has been the lot of most children in most times throughout history; the further back in history one goes, the more often adults hit children.[45] In Germany, a 1964 survey still showed 80 percent of parents beat their children with a panoply of instruments that included whips, canes, bundles of sticks, shovels and cats-o'-nine-tails.[46] These beatings began in infancy, continued as the daily reality of children's lives according to their autobiographies,[47] and were a regular practice in schools.[48] Freud nowhere mentioned beating as traumatic to children; his only paper that mentions beating says it is the child's wish to be beaten that causes emotional problems.[49] Nor does he mention swaddling, the universal practice common in his time of tying up infants for a year and longer so they continuously lived in their own urine and feces.[50] Likewise missing from his work was such regular practices as the use of enemas beginning in infancy[51] and the terrorizing of children with dummies to control them,[52] plus the continuous abandonment, terrorizing, betrayal, shaming and other traumatic emotional abuse that have been the common practices of most parents throughout history.

Unlike contemporary psychoanalysis, Freud did not say that the tying up (swaddling), beating and sexual molestation that his patients had all been subjected to as children by their caretakers was traumatic nor that these assaults were the cause of their neurosis. In fact, he sometimes said seduction was beneficial, as, for instance, when women seduce little boys, about which he wrote that "One can regularly observe in the circle of one's acquaintances that…men who have been seduced by women at an early age escape neurasthenia."[53] He nowhere described the molestation of children as painful or as a betrayal of trust or as intensely humiliating to the helpless child. He believed seduction presented problems only in the sense that it sometimes provided "unconsummated" excitation.[54] Sexual seductions, he said, "produced no effect on the child"[55] until a later event awakened the memory of the assault by "deferred action."[56] Even one of his biographers wondered why after Freud discussed the "precocious experience of sexual relations with actual excitement of the genitals resulting from sexual abuse [he] with an almost absurd lack of logic…claimed that the precocious sexual excitement had little or no effect on the child."[57] In fact, Freud concluded that because "sexual assaults on small children happen too often for them to have any aetiological importance, [hysteria] could not lie in the nature of the experiences, since other people remained healthy in spite of being exposed to the same precipitating causes [rape]."[58] Therefore, he said, when he discovered infantile sexuality, he decided he had "overrated the importance [note: not the incidence] of seduction"[59] and concluded that "the 'traumatic' element in the sexual experiences of childhood [he means seduction] lost its importance [since] obviously seduction is not required in order to arouse a child's sexual life."[60]

DENIAL OF THE EFFECTS OF SEXUAL ABUSE

Freud was very much part of general opinion in considering the seduction of children as harmless. Freud even sided with perpetrators of seduction. In the case of Dora, for instance, who was molested at age 14 by a friend of her father's, Freud said, by a "kiss upon her lips [and] the pressure of his erect member against her body,"[61] Freud agreed with the father, who said she should not have objected, since the molester was a friend of his. Freud declared the girl was "hysterical" because she complained about the assault on her: "I should without question consider a person hysterical in whom an occasion for sexual excitement elicited feelings that were preponderantly or exclusively unpleasurable…"[62] He blamed the children because their sensuousness provoked the sexual assaults by adults: "The last word on the subject of traumatic etiology [is] that the sexual constitution which is peculiar to children is precisely calculated to provoke sexual experiences of a particular kind namely traumas."[63] His psychoanalytic colleagues often blamed the victim too. Karl Abraham called sexual molestation of his patients by adults "desired by the child unconsciously [because of an] abnormal psycho-sexual constitution,"[64] concluding they had "an abnormal desire for obtaining sexual pleasure, and in consequence of this undergo sexual traumas."[65] Many other psychoanalysts after Freud continued to label patient reports of childhood sexual abuse "wishes."[66]As one recalled, "I was taught in my…early years in psychiatry, as most of us were, to look very skeptically upon the incestuous sexual material described by my patients….Any inclination on my part, or that of my colleagues in the training situation, to look upon these productions of the patient as having some reality basis was scoffed at and was seen as evidence of our naiveté."[67] This has recently begun to change in a few institutes of psychoanalysis in some countries.

Opinion has not really changed so much, unfortunately, in either academia or psychiatry. While many give lip service to the illegality of sexual abuse of children, real opinion is quite different, as I have found from having given many speeches on the history of child abuse to academic and mental health audiences in the past three decades. Academics who study human sexuality often agree with Kinsey ("It is difficult to understand why a child, except for its cultural conditioning, should be disturbed at having its genitalia touched…or disturbed at even more specific sexual contacts"),[68] his co-author Pomeroy ("incest between adults and younger children can…be a satisfying and enriching experience"),[69] sexual historians Edwardes and Masters ("there is no shame in being a…pederast or a rapist if one is satisfied"),[70] social worker LeRoy Schultz "[incest can be] a positive, healthy experience")[71] or any of the hundreds of others in anthropology, psychology and history who preach the pro-pedophile agenda in their fields today.[72] Scholarly academic journals have even published special issues praising pedophilia as "nurturant" and advocating abolishing all laws against sex with children.[73]

The record of psychiatry is little better. When I gave an address at the American Psychiatric Association Convention in Philadelphia on the subject "The History of Child Assault," I gave extensive evidence showing that the majority of children today in the countries for which we have statistics were sexually abused. The audience eventually seemed to admit that what I said could be true. Then they discussed among themselves the following proposition: "If childhood sexual abuse has been so widespread for so long, then perhaps we are wrong, and we shouldn't be creating a conflict in children's minds. Since everyone does it, maybe sex between children and adults isn't wrong at all." In addition, they asked the question: "What might gentle incest be like? Might it not be OK?" I was not surprised when, a few months later, the American

Psychiatric Association classified pedophilia as a disorder only if it bothered the pedophile, professing, according to one dissident psychiatrist, that "a person is no longer a pedophile simply because he molests children…He is a pedophile only if he feels bad or anxious about what he's doing." Otherwise, having sex with children can be healthy.[74]

What becomes evident is that most people in every society including our own believe that sex between adults and children is not really traumatic and is not the cause of emotional problems. Freud was not the only person to completely deny the traumatic origin of the emotional problems his patients brought to him-they continue to be denied by most people even today. Because of this denial, it makes sense that so much clinical research during the past century into the causes of mental illness has consisted mainly of investigation of repressed unacceptable wishes rather than of dissociated traumatic memories of real events, ignoring the crucial fact that no one gets sick because of wishes alone without the traumas that are linked to them. This concentration on wishes rather than traumas also explains, I think, why depth psychology has failed to contribute much to social or political theory. For if the unconscious consists only of repressed wishes which have their source in drives, psyches and therefore societies cannot change, since these "drives," coming from virtually unchanged gene pools, must have stayed the same while our psyches and social patterns change over time. But if the unconscious is acknowledged to include both wishes and traumatic memories of abuse and neglect-memories of real events which change as the history of childhood evolves-we can explain social change for the first time.

Massive denial of the origin of humanity's problems in the traumatic abuse of children is, then, one and the same as the massive denial of the psychological origins of social behavior. They are two sides of the same historical coin. Both are rooted in the fact that our deepest fears are stored in a separate brain system that remains largely unexplored by science and that is the source of the restaging of these early traumas in social events. Only when the contents and psychodynamics of these dissociated traumatic memories are made fully conscious can we understand the waking nightmare that we call history.

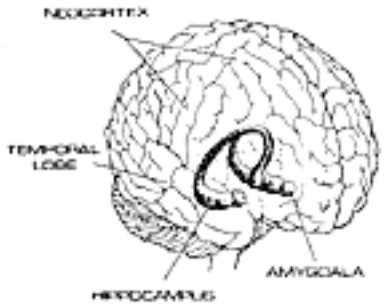
To achieve this understanding, we must draw upon all the resources of neurobiology, experimental, clinical and evolutionary psychology, psychoanalysis and psychotherapy, history and the other social sciences in order to provide a fully scientific theory of society.[75] To begin this synthesis, I will first review recent advances in the understanding of the neurobiology of trauma and its storage in separate neuronal networks in the brain.

THE NEUROBIOLOGY OF PSYCHOHISTORY

Although history is obviously not reducible to human biology, a psychohistorian cannot avoid contending with the hard facts of neurobiology, since the mind-and therefore the brain-is not, as Locke thought, a tabula rasa, but a highly complex, flawed end result of an extremely imperfect evolutionary process. What is more, society is the way it is partly because the brain is constructed the way it is, and this depends on the specific way the brain has evolved.[76] Societies are not constructed in the most logical or even most adaptive forms possible. Given the hominid brain we started with, even the most bizarre forms of society revealed by the historical record can be understood as the flawed products of evolving psyches and evolving brains. It is therefore essential that psychohistory understand the latest concepts in what has been called the "social

neurosciences"[77] that are beginning to be able to understand the effects of early interpersonal experiences between parents and children on the neurobiological development of the brain.

Since, as the neurobiologist Gerald Edelman has put it, "The likelihood of guessing how the brain works without looking at its structure seems slim,"[78] we will begin with a brief overview of brain structure. The brain is composed of over 100 billion neurons, with trillions of connections, dendrites, which are branching extensions from the body of the neuron that pass stimuli received by axons on to other neurons through synapses, the specialized connections between neurons. Since this synaptic activity is either excitatory or inhibitory, much of mental life and therefore also of the social life is either manic or depressive, and one of the main tasks of leaders, as also of psychiatrists, is to adjust through social projects the level of excitation of the brain. Memorization is thought to occur through repeated stimulation of synapses, making them grow bigger and stronger, as neurotransmitters are released across synaptic gaps.[79] Specific memories are stored all over the brain, in a much more fractured way than a computer stores memory in many files. As with a computer, however, the crucial task is retrieval of the memory, using neural networks or brain modules that serve as "indexes" for the fractured memories. As discussed in the previous chapter, early emotional memories are indexed in a network centering in the amygdala, while the conscious self system is indexed more in the hippocampus and orbital prefrontal cortex,[80] giving the brain the ability to retrieve information stored elsewhere and providing a "working memory" system that receives emotional signals from the amygdala.[81] A PET scan of the brain, for instance, made during "free association" shows increased blood flow in this orbitofrontal area, thus showing why the psychoanalytic process can tap into uncensored private thoughts.[82]



5:1 The human brain

The amygdala is predominantly excitatory, stimulating externally oriented behavior, and the hippocampus is predominantly inhibitory, comparing current information with existing knowledge. In current situations of danger, the amygdalan system is the first to make your muscles tense and heart beat faster, while the hippocampal-prefrontal cortical system will remember whom you were with and what you were doing during the danger, so as to be able to avoid it in the future.[83] It is the growth of the hippocampus, prefrontal cortex and related areas that represents the main evolutionary development of self consciousness (beyond simple growth of cortical storage areas), allowing Homo sapiens sapiens to delay responses while comparing them to past experience and self concepts. When one dreams, one's amygdala lights up in the

brain scanner like a pinball machine, as powerful early emotional memories are accessed and incorporated by the hippocampus and prefrontal cortex with current daily events into long-term personality modules. The hippocampal-prefrontal cortical and amygdalan memory systems are, in fact, the real "two brains" that dissociate more rational conscious self systems from unconscious emotional memories-not a simple "right-brain," "left-brain" split. The earliest regulation of emotion in a specialized amygdalan-prefrontal-orbital network first occurs during the mother-infant mutual gaze dialogues:

The common involvement [in infants] of orbital, temporal, and amygdala neurons in the processing of sensory (particularly visual) information of emotional significance has suggested that they 'may form part of a specialized neural system for the processing of social stimuli.' ..The furthest terminus of this circuit, the orbitofrontal cortex, represents the hierarchical apex of this system. This is functionally expressed in its unique capacity to categorize, abstract, store, and regulate the practicing infant's emotional responses to the face of the attachment figure.[84]

When emotional memories are traumatic either because the trauma was so early that the hippocampus was not yet functional or because it was so powerful that the hippocampal-prefrontal cortical system couldn't fully register it-they become permanent, dissociated fears of anything that might resemble the traumatic situation. Traumas that are inescapable because of helplessness can actually severely damage the hippocampus, killing neurons. Survivors of severe childhood abuse and veterans with post-traumatic stress syndrome are found to have smaller hippocampal volumes than other patients.[85] This damage is caused by the release during traumatization of a cascade of cortisol, adrenaline and other stress hormones that not only damage brain cells and impair memory but also set in motion a long-lasting disregulation of the brain's biochemistry. Animals that are traumatized when they are young grow up to be cowardly bullies, with less vasopressin, which regulates aggression, and serotonin, the calming neurotransmitter, which has been shown to be low in delinquents and in children who have been regularly beaten by their parents.[86]Low serotonin is the most important marker for violence in animals and humans, and has been correlated with high rates of homicide, suicide, arson, antisocial disorders, self-mutilation, and other disorders of aggression.[87] Early emotional abandonment by the mother or significant family members regularly lowers the serotonin level of children. Harlow's motherless monkeys who became extremely fearful and socially violent as adults like Coleman's eleven-month-old patient whose serotonin level dropped by half following the death of his sister, demonstrate the dramatic effects of trauma on serotonin levels.[88] Imbalances in neurotransmitter levels resulting from trauma can last for decades in post-traumatic stress disorders and even in Holocaust survivors.[89]

Consciousness which Llinás believes[90] is a 40-hertz oscillation in the entire brain network that binds together cortical and limbic systems is present during wakefulness and dream (REM) sleep. Dreaming is a sort of "down-time" for current experience, when daily memories are evaluated against early amygdalan emotional memories, processed into long-term memory and stored in the neocortex.[91] But traumatic stress seriously interferes with the processing of these memories and their accessibility to consciousness. The fears, anxieties and hypervigilance of traumatic stress sets off a cascade of hormones and neurotransmitters that disrupts hippocampal functioning, leaving memories to be stored as dissociated affective states or body memories that are incapable of being retrieved through normal hippocampal indexing.[92] Van der Kolk believes

that often these memories are dissociated because they were never really stored in consciousness in the first place.[93] Moreover, the "lack of secure attachments may produce the most devastating effects," he says, "because consistent external support appears to be a necessary condition in learning how to regulate internal affective states….Dissociation is a method of coping with inescapable stress [allowing] infants to enter into trance states and to ignore current sensory input…"[94] As Eigen puts it in his book, The Psychotic Core, "The aggression perpetrated on the young in the name of upbringing is often tinged with or masks madness. Both parent and child live out this madness in a trancelike state akin to dreaming."[95] It is these early trance states that are repeated in the social trances of history.

THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF RESTAGING

The massive secretion of norepinephrine and dopamine, serotonin and endogenous opioids that follows inescapable trauma is followed by a subsequent depletion of hormones, presumably because utilization exceeds synthesis. Eventually receptors become hypersensitive, leading to excessive responsiveness to even the possibility of trauma in later life.[96] It is this massive "false-alarm system" that leads to reenactments and then to restagings of trauma reenactments with new anxiety-reducing elements that is at the heart of social behavior in humans.

Depletion of neurotransmitters after traumatic flooding results in hyperalertness to any situations that seem to indicate they may lead to reexperiencing the trauma. This, of course, is true of all animals, and they later simply avoid the dangers in the future. But humans are unique in possessing a developed hippocampal-prefrontal cortical-centered consciousness whose task it is to inhibit action so as to avoid potentially traumatic situations. When trauma occurs-even very early trauma-humans are unique in believing they are responsible for the trauma. It is astonishing how early and consistently this is seen in clinical practice. Lenore Terr tells of a girl playing with dolls and repeating her sexual molestion by pornographers that happened when she was 15 months old.[97] She was dissociated from any conscious memories of the events, but accurately repeated being penetrated by an erect penis the same way she had been in the pornographic films, which had been retrieved by the police. The accuracy of her body memories is amazing enough, but what was most astonishing was what she said as she restaged the raping scene: "Who is this? My doll. She's laying on the bed naked. I cover her up….I'm yelling at the doll. She was bad! I yell at my doll…'You! You bad thing! Get to bed, you!'" She felt guilty about her own rape!

But children usually feel guilty about being traumatized. "I must have been too noisy, because mommy left me" was my sincere belief when my mother left my father. I also believed I deserved my father's strappings because I wasn't obedient enough. This is why children set up a separate, internal self as a "protector" to try to stop themselves from ever being noisy, pushy, sexual, demanding, in fact, to stop them from growing and thus reexperiencing trauma. At first, these internal "protectors" are friendly; sometimes they are represented as imaginary playmates or even as protective alters if the traumas are severe or repetitive.[98] Later, particularly when adolescence brings on opportunities for greater exploration and especially dating, these protective selves become persecutory selves that "have had it" with the host self and actually try to harm it. [99] The persecutory self says, "It's not happening to me, it's happening to her, and she deserves it!" Rather than take a chance that the early trauma will once again catch one unaware

and helpless, one might restage the trauma upon oneself or others, or both, at least controlling the timing and intensity of the trauma oneself.[100]

Before adolescence, one will often restage traumas by identifying with the persecutor and triumphing rather than being the helpless one. Thus, the 8-year-old girl who had been hit by a truck when she was 18 months old would repeatedly charge into classmates, knocking them over as she restaged her accident.[101] Or a 7-year-old girl whose father strangled her mother would force her friends to play the "mommy game" where they played dead and she picked them up.[102] But after adolescence, the restaging more often includes self-persecution, bringing about the dreaded event oneself either through hypervigilant action or actual self-harm-as in the self-cutting or self-injury of those who were physically abused as children, the fights and anti-social activities of delinquents who were neglected as infants or the sexual promiscuity of young girls who had been seduced.

It is important to keep in mind that it is not "stress" or even "trauma" alone that causes restaging of early events. If the traumas are not dissociated, if they can be remembered by the conscious mind, they are not split off so they need not be repeated. For instance, 732 Jewish children who survived concentration camps after having gone through literal hell for three years, formed a club in England after their rescue. No greater amount of childhood trauma can be imagined that what they went through, yet, as they wrote in their newsletter later, "our greatest achievement and tremendous source of pride is that we can boast of having no delinquents, criminals, revenge-seekers and above all, none of us is consumed with hatred and venom."[103] Because Jews didn't blame themselves for their persecution, they could remember and didn't dissociate. So they didn't need to either revictimize themselves nor make others victims.

Revictimization is actually the central cause of anti-social behavior, and addiction to trauma is at its core.[104] It is not surprising that prison psychiatrists find violent criminals invariably repeat in their crime the emotional traumas, abuse and humiliation of their childhood,[105] or that women who have been sexually abused in childhood are more than twice as likely as others to be raped when they become adults.[106] As one prostitute who had been sexually victimized as a child said, "When I do it, I'm in control. I can control them through sex."[107] What Freud was puzzled by[108]when he coined the term "the repetition compulsion" puzzled because it violated the pleasure principle is actually a self-protective device, protective against being helpless against the overwhelming anxiety of unexpected trauma. Traumas are therefore restaged as a defense, with the persecutory self as the stage director.[109] Restaging as a defense against dissociated trauma is the crucial flaw in the evolution of the human mind understandable from the viewpoint of the individual as a way of maintaining sanity, but tragic in its effects upon society, since it means that early traumas will be magnified onto the historical stage into war, domination and self-destructive social behavior. And because we also restage by inflicting our childhood terrors upon our children, generation after generation, our addiction to the slaughterbench of history has been relentless.

FEARS OF INDIVIDUATION AND GROWTH PANIC

The crowning achievement of the human species-our self-consciousness, the awareness of oneself as a private person with a past history and future goals-has taken so long to evolve and has been so uneven that humanity is a species with extremely fragile selves. Chimpanzees barely have enough self-awareness to recognize themselves in a mirror,[110] and early humans began to

evolve self-consciousness through slowly improving parenting, resulting mainly from the mother's growing empathy toward her child. Eigen observes from the disintegrating selves of psychotics, "The way individuals are ripped apart by psychotic processes brings home the realization that the emergence of a viable sense of self and other must be counted as one of the most creative achievements of humankind"[111] an achievement, I will show, it has taken millenia to acomplish. As Modell points out,[112] the emergent private self grows as the child explores its environment with the regular help of its caretakers. Therefore, children whose immature parents use them for their own emotional needs, and who reject them when the child's needs do not reflect their own, develop what Winnicott calls a "false self," or even multiple selves, which may conform to society but cannot improve upon it. It is because of this that social evolution depends upon the evolution of the viable self, which in turn is achieved solely through the slow and uneven evolution of childrearing.

Traumas are defined as injuries to the private self, rather than just painful experiences, since non-painful injuries to the self such as parental genital manipulation or being told by a parent that they wished one would die are more traumatic to the self than, say, more painful accidents.[113]Without a well-developed, enduring private self, people feel threatened by all progress, all freedom, all new challenges, and then experience annihilation anxiety, fears that the fragile self is disintegrating, since situations that call for self-assertion trigger memories of maternal abandonment. Masterson calls this by the umbrella term "abandonment depression," beneath which, he says, "ride the Six Horsemen of the Psychic Apocalypse: Depression, Panic, Rage, Guilt, Helplessness (hopelessness), and Emptiness (void) [that] wreak havoc across the psychic landscape leaving pain and terror in their wake."[114] Whether the early traumas or rejections were because the mothers were openly abandoning, over-controlling and abusive, clinging, or just threatened by the child's emerging individuation, the results are much the same-the child learns to fear parts of his or her potential self that threatens the disapproval or loss of the mother. As Socarides has observed,[115] fears of growth, individuation and self assertion that carry hreatening feelings of disintegration lead to desires to merge with the omnipotent mother literally to crawl back into the womb desires which immediately turn into fears of maternal engulfment, since the merging would involve total loss of the self. When Socarides' patients make moves to individuate-like moving into their own apartment or getting a new job-they have dreams of being swallowed by whirlpools or devoured by monsters. The only salvation from these maternal engulfment wishes/fears is a "flight to external reality from internal reality,"[116] a flight in which social institutions play a central role, as we shall shortly discover. Many people who have been in psychotherapy become conscious of this individuation panic and flight to external reality when they begin to grow, break free of old emotional patterns and start to feel their freedom. These fears can be characterized as an all-pervasion growth panic that traumatized individuals (nearly everyone) constantly carry around during their daily lives. Masterson quotes one of his patients:

I was walking down the street and suddenly I was engulfed in a feeling of absolute freedom. I could taste it. I knew I was capable of doing whatever I wanted. When I looked at other people, I really saw them without being concerned about how they were looking at me…I was just being myself and thought that I had uncovered the secret of life: being in touch with your own feelings and expressing them openly with others, not worrying so much about how others felt about you.

Then just as suddenly as it came, it disappeared. I panicked and started thinking about the million things I had to do at the studio, of errands I needed to run after work. I began to feel nauseous and started sweating. I headed for my apartment, running most of the way. When I got in, I felt that I had been pursued. By what? Freedom, I guess.[117]

It is this manic flight to action a flight that is a defense against growth panic that is the emotional source of much of social behavior. Manic acting-out in social activity is a universal addiction, similar in its effects to the dopamine agonistic effects of cocaine. That's why leaders so often take manic drugs, like John F. Kennedy during the Gulf Crisis (amphetamines) and George Bush during the Gulf War (Halcion). Like drugs, grandiose manic social activities such as war and political domination produce a temporary elation and a dopamine surge, but not the lasting joy of self-discovery and love.

HOW TRAUMATIC IS CHILDHOOD?

The incidence of trauma in childhood, past and present, will be a central focus of the rest of this book. Some idea, however, of the extent of childhood trauma would be useful in this chapter on social and political theory. My overall conclusions have not changed after three decades of additional research from what I wrote in The History of Childhood:

The history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken. The further back in history one goes, the lower the level of child care, and the more likely children are to be killed, abandoned, beaten, terrorized, and sexually abused.[118]

Childhood is still massively traumatic for the majority of the children in the world. For instance, one of the most often-cited facts of American life is the exposure of children to violence in urban communities-one recent study showed 40 percent of children surveyed reported exposure to a shooting or stabbing in the past year, 36 percent reported being threatened with physical harm in the past year and 74 percent reported feeling unsafe in their communities.[119] Various studies of violence in the home reveal that over 90 percent of American parents regularly hit their children, mostly with hair brushes, paddles or belts,[120] 20 percent of them severely, with heavy instruments that endanger their lives.[121] Rates of child thrashing in European countries are rarely much lower than this.[122] And despite widespread denial by anthropologists of the high frequency of physical assault on children of other cultures,[123] most children elsewhere around the world today are still beaten unmercifully by their caretakers.[124] The most evolved country in the world today is Sweden, which passed a law in 1979 against hitting children, so that a new generation of parents now generally refrains from hitting their children.[125]

Sexual molestation of children is still so widespread that in my world-wide survey of the subject, "The Universality of Incest," I concluded that the sexual abuse of children was likely to have been a universal practice for most people in most places at most times in history, and that children who had not been sexually molested by their caretakers were a recent historical achievement, experienced by only a minority of children in a few places in the world.[126] The most careful statistics of childhood seduction in America, using structured interview techniques that were able to acknowledge the resistances of the respondents and defining molestation as actual genital contact, found 38 percent (Russell) or 45 percent (Wyatt) of women and 30 percent of men (Landis) interviewed reported memories of sexual abuse during their childhood.[127] Adjusting

these figures for such elements as the bias introduced by the population interviewed that eliminates criminals, prostitutes, juveniles in shelters and psychotics-all of whom have much higher molestation rate-plus the large percentage of people who refused to be interviewed and were likely more victimized, I concluded that the true rate of childhood molestation in America is about 60 percent for girls and 45 percent for boys.

A Gallup poll of Canadian childhood molestation reported about the same figures as in America. Though most European studies are decades behind those of the U.S., when a recent BBC "ChildWatch" program asked its female listeners if they could remember sexual molestation, 62 percent recalled actual intercourse. As was mentioned earlier, a recent Institut für Kindheit survey that interviewed Berlin schoolchildren in one neighborhood directly (direct interviews of children for any purpose are extremely rare) found 80 percent said they had been sexually molested.[128] Though surveys of childhood abuse are unknown in the rest of the world, my evidence showed even higher rates were likely in the East and Middle East, where boys and girls are masturbated and raped by the men in the family and others as a matter of course, and, as both Indian and Chinese proverbs have it, "For a girl to be a virgin at ten years old, she must have neither brothers nor cousin nor father."[129] This molestation by the family is further extended by such sexual assaults as the estimated 100 million child prostitutes worldwide and female genital mutilation, an extremely traumatic parental sexual assault, recently estimated at 74 million women in the circum-Mediterranean area.[130] Once these beating and sexual abuse figures are added to fetal traumas (one in three pregnant women in America are hit or kicked by their mates),[131]plus all the other abusive and accidental traumas that are commonly experienced by children,[132] and then added to all the neglect, rejection, brutal domination and other severe emotional tortures that are so common they aren't even measured, plus the horrible traumatic effects on children of wars, social violence, malnutrition and other common mass traumatic conditions of children in this world, one must conclude that childhood continues to be a nightmare for most children in most areas of the world today.

Indeed, my conclusion from a lifetime of study of the history of childhood is that society is founded upon the abuse of children, and that the further back in history one studies the subject the more likely children are to have been abused and neglected. Just as family therapists today find that child abuse often functions to hold families together as a way of solving their emotional problems, so, too, the routine assault, torture and domination of children has been society's most effective instrument of collective emotional homeostasis. Most historical families once practiced infanticide, incest, beating and mutilation of their children to relieve anxieties. We continue today to arrange the killing, maiming, molestation and starvation of our children through our military, social and economic institutions.

This is why domination and violence in history has such continuity: betrayal and abuse of children has been a consistent human trait since our species began. Each generation begins anew with fresh, eager, trusting faces of babies, ready to love and create a new world. And each generation of parents tortures, abuses, neglects and dominates its children until they become emotionally crippled adults who repeat in nearly exact detail the social violence and domination that existed in previous decades. Should a minority of parents decrease the amount of abuse and neglect of its children a bit and begin to provide somewhat more secure, loving early years that allow a bit more freedom and independence, history soon begins to move in surprising new

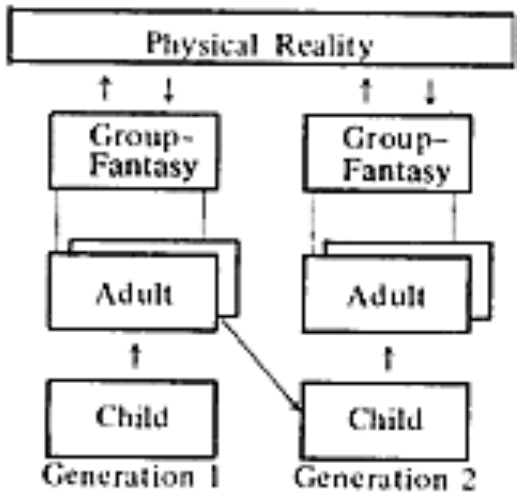
directions and society changes in innovative ways. History needn't repeat itself; only the traumas demand repetition.[133]

THE PSYCHOGENIC THEORY OF HISTORY

The psychogenic theory of history is a scientific, empirical, falsifiable theory based upon a model that involves shared restagings of dissociated memories of early traumas, the content of which changes through the evolution of childhood. It is based upon the conclusion of experimental and clinical psychology that psychic content is organized by early emotional relationships, so that psychic structure must be passed from generation to generation through the narrow funnel of childhood. Thus a society's childrearing practices are not just one item in a list of cultural traints but are the very condition for the transmission and development of all cultural elements. Childrearing therefore is crucial because it organizes the emotional structure that determines the transmission of all culture and places definite limits on what can be achieved by society. Specific childhoods sustain specific cultural traits, and once these early experiences no longer occur the trait disappears or is modified. It is the first social theory that posits love as the central mechanism for historical change-not because I happen to value love as an exemplary trait, but because the clinical, experimental and social sciences of the past century have shown that love produces the individuation needed for human innovation-that is, for cultural evolution.

It is also the first theory that recognizes the values of methodological individualism-seeing properties of groups as a result of the actions of its individual members-yet that also recognizes group evolution, integrating the psychology of individuals and societies and recognizing that social behavior also has emotional sources. I call the theory "psychogenic" rather than "economic" or "political" because it views humans more as homo relatens than homo economicus or homo politicus-that is, as searching for relation, for love, more than just for money or power. The theory considers evolving psychoclasses-shared childrearing modes-as more central than economic classes or social classes for understanding history.

This psychogenic theory is contrasted with the sociogenic theory of all other social scientists which sees all individual change as merely a reflection of social change. It instead views adults as having developed new kinds of personalities due to new childrearing modes, and then as projecting onto the historical stage earlier traumas and feelings in such a manner that events appear to be happening to the group rather than being internal, creating shared dreams, group-fantasies, that are so intense and compelling that they take on a life of their own, a life that is imagined as happening in a dissociated sphere called "society"-the group-fantasy sandbox of adults.



5:2 The Psychogenic Theory of History

Consider a typical example of a traumatized child growing up and joining others in fashioning a historical group-fantasy. Timothy McVeigh, one of the Oklahoma City bombers, experienced continuous maternal abandonment as a child, according to neighbors and relatives, as his restless mother, who regularly cheated on her husband, kept leaving the family for weeks at a time.[134] Timothy asked friends, "Is it something I did?" when trying to understand why his mother wasn't there. When he was ten, he became interested in guns and became a survivalist, collecting rifles in case Communists took over the country. When he was sixteen and his mother left him for good, he began to refer to her as "a bitch" and as "that no-good whore." Neighbors reported he was often like two people, "angry and screaming one minute, then switching to quite normal" for no apparent reason. In the army, when he failed the Green Beret test-another rejection-he quit in disgust and began hanging out with Right-wing militarists. After going to Waco to watch how the government had abandoned the children during the siege, he went to Oklahoma City to act out a scene in a Rightist novel where a group packed a truck with a homemade bomb and set it off at F.B.I. headquarters. But four months before he acted out this rage against authority (his mother), McVeigh visited the day care center in the building, pretending he had children he wanted to enroll.[135] Thus he picked out a site where children who had been left by their mothers would be blown up too, thus punishing abandoned children representatives of himself restaging his own abandonment and the carrying out the punishment he thought he deserved for his rage at his mother.

The raging part of Timothy McVeigh, elaborated by militia group-fantasies, often made him seem, said others, like two people. The process was similar to that observed in the creation of alters, or alternate personalities, in people who have Multiple Personality Disorders, a diagnosis recently renamed Dissociated Identity Disorders. Dissociation is defined as "a loss of the usual interrlationships between various groups of mental processes with resultant almost independent function of the one group that has been separated from the rest,"[136] and is involved in such pathological syndromes as hypnosis, depersonalization, fugue, sleepwalking, possession and visionary experiences.[137] A Dissociated Identity Disorder has three criteria: (a) the personalities seem to be distinct and lasting, (b) the dominant personality at any particular time determines the

individual's behavior, and (c) each personality is complex and organized with its own unique behavior patterns.[138] There are four possible core dissociative symptoms: amnesia, depersonalization, derealization and identity confusion.[139] Severe, repeated child abuse and neglect almost always lie behind the full D.I.D. disorder. Kluft says, "Most multiples, as children, have been physically brutalized, psychologically assaulted, sexually violated, and affectively overwhelmed."[140] As Ross puts it, a multiple personality disorder is a little girl imagining that the abuse is happening to someone else. The imaging is so intense and subjectively compelling, and is reinforced so many times by the ongoing trauma, that the created identities seem to take on a life of their own, though they are all parts of one person.[141]

Alters often have different names, handwriting, voices, vocabularies, expressions, even EEG alpha rhythms, and are often amnesic of each other's activities, although sometimes one alter is co-conscious of the activities of another.[142] Sometimes an alter is frozen in time, stuck in the trauma that gave it birth, and child personalities will often expect to be sexually assaulted by the therapist, who is mistaken for the abuser from the past, and cower in the corner, fearing the inevitable rape.[143] In addition to the host personality, who is often depressed, masochistic, compulsively good and suffers from time losses, there are alters such as fearful children who recall the traumas, inner persecutors, containers of forbidden impulses, avengers, apologists for the abusers, idealized figures who deny dangers and so on. The formation of such alters is life-saving, allowing the host personality to defend against unbearable trauma and continue living. Their tragedy is that these alters restage their traumas in adult life, in what Kluft calls "revictimization behaviors" or "the sitting duck syndrome," during which they feel they are taking control of the abuse and ending the intolerable agony of waiting for it to happen.[144]

In many multiples, one alter is found whose task it is to persecute the host personality or others who represent the guilty childhood self. "She should die, she deserves to die. She's a loser…" said one alter to her therapist, referring to her host personality.[145] These persecutory alters start out as protective alters, whose task it is to protect the host against re-experiencing early traumas and rejections. But usually some time around puberty, when the host begins to explore the world and have sexual feelings, the alter turns totally against the host and says, "She started becoming interested in boys and dates and all that…I didn't want any part of it…I'd hate her for letting that happen…so I'd cut her."[146] From that point on, the alter persecutes the host personality relentlessly. In this sense, persecutory alters continue to protect the host against repetition of trauma by punishing all growth-in themselves and in representatives of themselves.

SOCIAL ALTERS AND THE SOCIAL TRANCE

Although few people are diagnosed with dissociative disorders, most people nevertheless have organized, dissociated persecutory personalities whose function it is to punish themselves or substitutes for themselves as "object lessons"-in order to remind them that growth, pleasure and success are dangerous and might precipitate trauma or rejection. Child psychologists have recently suggested that perhaps "all children have dissociative-like states" and that abuse and neglect leads to the "establishment of centers of experience external to the core self during transient hypnotic-like states" that act as early alters.[147] As they grow up, these dissociated parts of their psyche are organized into persecutory social scenarios that are shared with others, which could be thought of as social alters. McVeigh switched into and out of his angry, militarist self, his social alter, each time he reexperienced further evidence for abandonment by mother figures.

It is a process we all share to some extent with McVeigh. Rather than living our lives wholly in our private selves, we choose to live partly in our social alters, where ghosts of our past are disguised as social roles in the present. Social alters of individuals collude to produce the social trance and have five characteristics:

(1) they are separate neural networks that are repositories for feelings, images and scenarios connected with traumatic abuse and neglect, including the defensive fantasies that go with them;

(2) they are organized into dynamic structures containing an alternate set of goals, values and defenses from those of the main self, in order to help prevent the traumas from overwhelming one's life and to to defend against the reexperiencing of the humiliations and persecutions of childhood;

(3) they have the central task of organizing and carrying out both the idealizing and the persecutory fantasies in society that are the result of these traumas, the idealizing mainly toward male leaders (father-saviors), and the persecutory mainly toward women (persecuting mothers) and children (guilty self);

(4) they are co-conscious[148] of the central personality, yet

(5) they are split off by a seamless wall of denial, depersonalization, discontinuity of affect and disownership of responsibility that is maintained by collusion with others pretending the alters are normal; and

(6) they are shared and restaged in historical group-fantasies that are elaborated into political, religious and social institutions.

Social alters contain memories of severe traumas and rejections and have their own repertoire of defensive behaviors. Experiments have shown that adults who were traumatized as children are more susceptible to hypnosis, to group suggestions, to hysterical religious behavior and to paranormal experiences.[149] Dissociative disorders are what Winnicott called "the psychosis hidden behind the neurosis."[150] More organized and dissociated than just "false selves,"[151] social alters differ from alters of multiple personalities in that they replace the usual denial by amnesia with denial by dissociation of emotional connections, maintained through group collusion. Thus, even though one may be more or less conscious of the activities of one's social alter-knowing that the self that shoots a child who is an "enemy" is the same person that values one's own child-still, the emotional connections between the two selves are missing. Thus people can imagine they go to war or conduct a genocide because of the chance appearance of an enemy, never because of anything emotional happening in their own heads.

It is important to remember that a person's social alter is based upon a fetal matrix and depends upon the early amygdalan memory system, repository for our dissociated traumas. Social alters do not include the areas of the brain necessary for conscious empathy.[152] It is this missing capacity for empathy that allows violent acting-out in the social sphere people become so filled with our projections that it becomes impossible for one to "feel their feelings." You can observe this lack of empathy, the fetal matrix and the persecutory agenda by studying for instance the initiation

rituals of some cultures, where boys, considered as polluted by female fluids, are sealed inside a ritual house with their bodily wastes, forced to put their heads out a vaginal window to recapitulated birth, and then beaten, smeared with blood taken from their penises and otherwise mutilated and tortured.[153] The adults who put the children through the ordeal are completely dissociated from the meaning of the events they enact. They cannot tell why they persecute the boys and cut their penises, and they feel no empathy for those they are torturing, since the boys are so full of the projections of the adults' own traumas.

Experimental evidence with social memories demonstrates that our brains actually store social feelings in separate modules by time period. We have all experienced how hearing, say, a familiar Beatles song can produce a cascade of emotional memories from the Sixties. One experiment showed that people can revisit these time-bound memory modules. A group of men over seventy years old was taken to a country retreat for five days in 1979 and exposed only to 1959 music, magazines, radio programs, clothes and activities. The men soon not only held conversations as though it were 1959, their biological markers-their hand grip, posture, hearing, etc.-actually became younger. They had switched into earlier memory modules and began accessing anew 1959 feelings simply by being immersed in earlier social material.[154] Apparently there is enough room in the hundred billion neurons in our brain to record social emotional states by specific periods.

Social alters are like suitcases into which we stuff our most traumatic split-off fears and rages, containing our continuing lives as traumatized children, abuser apologists, inner persecutors, heroic avengers and other consciously intolerable parts of ourselves, all organized into social postures. The social alter is based upon fantasies that are defenses against traumas, not upon present-day reality, even when it participates in present-day political or religious group activities. The defensive fantasies are unreal even when the entire society may agree upon their reality. When a group of men collects human heads, believing that this will increase their genital potency, or a group of women chop off their little girls' clitorises, believing that otherwise they might grow to be a foot long, these beliefs are obviously derived from defensive group-fantasies, not from experience. The same people can have an excellent knowledge of reality in their host personalities, with extensive hunting or agricultural skills based upon the real-life experiences of their group, but in their social alters they are nevertheless convinced of the efficacy of chopping off heads and clitorises.

Except for a few psychopaths and psychotics, most of us keep these suitcases for our social alters in the closet with the door locked, seemingly away from our daily lives-but then we lend the keys to group delegates whom we depend upon to act out their contents for us so we can deny ownership of the actions. Periodically, when the group and its leader are imagined to be collapsing-when our despair becomes too great, our social alters seem too distant so that we feel depleted of vital parts of ourselves, and our hypervigalence is at an unbearable peak-the contents of these suitcases begin to break loose, we enter a panic state, and our early fears and other emotional memories are restaged in wars or other forms of social violence.

All the accomplishments of our conscious personalities-self-awareness, the ablity to imagine the consequences of actions and learning from experience, the capability of feeling empathy for others, the awareness of the passage of time, the ability to construct a realistic future,

responsibity for one's actions-are missing in our social alters, and are not part of the group-fantasies we act out in history. Depersonalization is experienced whenever we are in our social alters, and we enter into a trance-like state-what happens in "society" has a feeling of unreality or strangeness of self, a loss of affective response. Even though, as with other dissociative disorders, some reality testing remains intact, an absence of normal feelings and a disconnection from one's usual range of emotions are regularly felt when in one's social alter.

Even the language of group-fantasies is special, since social alters must communicate in elliptical form in order that their unacceptable true contents may remain hidden to our main selves. Therefore, group-fantasies are often conveyed by subliminal embedded messages rather than clear, overt language. We will shortly see how to decode these embedded messages through fantasy analysis. Groups speak this embedded language when they are in a social trance,[155] when they re-experience the same trance-like dissociation they felt during early traumas. Leaders of groups must therefore be adept at trance induction techniques in order to accomplish their delegated tasks. In fact, group-fantasies, like politics in general, are conducted in a trance atmosphere whose features are identical to the eight "Cognitive Distortions of Dissociation" that Fine found in her dissociated patients: catastrophizing, over- generalization, selective abstraction, dichotomous thinking, time distortion, misassessing causality, irresponsibility or excessive responsibility and circular thinking.[156]

The social alter is the inheritor of earlier dissociated persecutory feelings and has as one of its roles the setting up of group punishments that are "object lessons" to us all. McVeigh's staging of the Oklahoma City explosion was carefully arranged to have "abandoned" children like himself punished along with the more conscious aim of punishing bad authorities. The formula for restaging early traumas is: (1) Fuse with your persecutory alter ("Terrifying Mommy"), (2) find a savior alter ("Grandiose Self") whom you follow to (3) kill the victim alter ("Bad Child"). Empathy for victim scapegoats is lost because they are so full of our negative projections and are seen as bad children-growing, striving, wanting too much. The larger the success and new freedoms a society must face-the more its progress overreaches its childrearing evolution-the larger the historical punishment it must stage. When an American Senator, voting for more nuclear weapons, said that even if a nuclear Holocaust was unleashed it wouldn't be too bad because we would "win" it ("If we have to start over with another Adam and Eve, I want them to be Americans"), the weird trance logic can only be understood if nuclear war is seen as an "object lesson," enabling us to "start afresh with a clean slate."

THE SOCIAL ALTER IN SMALL GROUPS

All groups, even small face-to-face groups, organize group-fantasies out of the pooled social alters of its members. Because even in small groups we feel vulnerable to the shame and humiliation that reminds us of our earlier helplessness, we defend ourselves by switching into our social alters and preparing ourselves for expected attacks. Although groups can also be used for utilitarian purposes, they more often form so that people can act out their persecutory social alters. When people construct a group-fantasy, they give up their idiosyncratic defensive fantasies and become entrained in the social trance. Group analysts have found that even small groups collude in delusional notions: that the group is like a disapproving mother, that the group is different from and superior to all other groups, that it has imaginary boundaries that can protect it, that it can provide endless sustenance to its members without their individual efforts,

that its leader should be deified and should be in constant control of its members, that scapegoating is useful and sacrifice necessary for cleansing the group's emotions, that it is periodically besieged by monstrous enemies from without and stealthy enemies from within, that no individual is ever responsible for any of the group's actions and so on-all defensive structures organizing and restaging shared traumatic content.[157] Recruiters for cults, for instance, make use of the propensity for people to need groups to control them and act out their group-fantasies; in fact, over 20 million Americans belong to cults and cult-like groups that enable them to collude with idealizing and persecutory parts of other people's social alters.[158] Small groups, in fact, sometimes resemble religious cults psychodynamically-ritual restagings of early trauma are one of their goals, while utilitarian accomplishments are secondary and difficult to achieve.[159]

It is not hard to see face-to-face group members become entrained and switch into their social alters, forming group-fantasies. As the group first gathers, people chat, laugh, argue and interact with other individuals from their central conscious selves. At a certain moment, however, "when the time comes for the group to form," individuals switch into their social alters, a social trance forms[160] and the group-fantasy takes over. Language and demeanor change, and people feel somehow detached, estranged from their usual range of feelings and deskilled of critical faculties. A leader is imagined to be "in control" even if he isn't actually present, group boundaries are imagined, work is thought able to be accomplished effortlessly, magical thinking spreads, enemies arise, factions form to act out splits, and empathy diminishes, since others are so full of the group's projections.

All this usually takes only a few minutes. It becomes acceptable to exploit and abuse others, as members were themselves once exploited and abused. Scapegoats volunteer for sacrifice, a group bible and group history and group spirit and other delusional group-fantasies form, and group life begins, seemingly a more emotionally vital life than everyday life, despite an omnipresent sleepiness common in groups that is a result of the social trance. When the group "ends," often with a trance-breaking clap of hands termed "applause," people wake up, break the entrainment, switch back to their central personalities and experience a tremendous emotional let-down as vital parts of themselves are lost, disoriented for a moment, and the group begins to mourn its own ending-in the same manner as multiple personalities often feel more connected to their real feelings when they are "in" their alters. Aristotle intuited the emotional importance of the social alter when he said man was a zoon politikon and was incomplete without his "political self," his social alter.

Even when small groups are formed to observe the emotional processes of their members, the group analyst usually misses the meaning of the switching of members into their social alters. Typical is a group analytic workshop held in Tel Aviv during the Gulf War as the group turned to a discussion of Saddam Hussein:

"D," our Arab member, suddenly changed before our eyes. The man, who had until then been distant…began a heated defense of Saddam Hussein: "He is the real Arab hero. He stands alone against the whole world and doesn't surrender. Saddam is fighting and representing Arab pride against the capitalistic interests of the West which are out to steal the Arab oil of Kuwait."

This long speech was so strong that it was immediately sensed as something truly crucial for D…it was as if D were moved by inner forces that strongly fought for expression, almost beyond the possibility of control. After a while he froze and didn't know how to go on. The outrage of other members was immediate. They pointed to the dark side of Saddam: the killer, the sadist, the oppressor of another country, the anti-Israeli aggressor who wants to destroy us physically. Now, D was like someone waking up from hypnosis. Slowly he regained his ability to speak. At first his speech was unclear but after awhile his ability to think and speak coherently returned. He tried to explain, unsuccessfully, why he was defending Saddam. In reality, he maintained, he, too, was afraid of the SCUD missiles; and he hated Saddam with all his heart, perhaps even more than any Jew, and would welcome news announcing his death.[161]

The group analyst passed off the spectacle of the man clearly switching into and out of a social trance as without meaning for the group.

OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY IN A SOCIAL TRANCE

It is only when one realizes that we all carry around with us persecutory social alters that become manifest in groups that such unexplained experiments as those described in Stanley Milgram's classic study Obedience to Authority[162] become understandable. In this experiment, people were asked to be "teachers" and, whenever their "learners" made mistakes, to give them massive electric shocks. The "learners," who were only acting the part, were trained to give out pained cries even though the "electric shocks" were non-existent. Of the 40 "teachers," 65 percent delivered the maximum amount of shock even as they watched the "learners" scream out in pain and plead to be released, despite their having been told they didn't have to step up the shock level. The "teachers" often trembled, groaned and were extremely upset at having to inflict the painful shocks, but continued to do so nonetheless. That the "teachers" believed the shocks were real is confirmed by another version of the experiment in which real shocks were inflicted upon a little puppy, who howled in protest; the obedience statistics were similar.[163]

Social scientists have been puzzled by Milgram's experiments, wondering why people were so easily talked into inflicting pain so gratuitously. The real explanation is that, by joining a group-the "university experiment"-they switched into their social alters and merged with their own sadistic internalized persecutor, which was quite willing to take responsibility for ordering pain inflicted upon others. Their "struggle with themselves" over whether to obey was really a struggle between their social alters and their main selves.

Although many subsequent experiments varied the conditions for obedience,[164] what Milgram did not do is try the experiment without the social trance. If he had not framed it as a group experience, if he had simply on his own authority walked up to each individual, alone, and, without alluding to a university or any other group, asked him or her to come to his home and give massive amounts of electric shock to punish someone, he would not have been obeyed, because they would not have switched into their social alters. The crucial element of the experiments was the existence of the group-as-terrifying-parent, the all-powerful university. Not surprisingly, when the experiment was repeated using children-who go into trance and switch into traumatized content more easily than adults-they were even more obedient in inflicting the maximum shock.[165]Subjects were even obedient when they themselves were the victims: 54 percent turned a dial upon command to the maximum limit when they had been told it was

inflicting damage upon their ears that could lead to their own deafness, and 74 percent ate food they thought could harm them, thus confirming that they were truly in a dissociated state, not just "obeying" authority or trying to hurt others, and that it was actually an alternate self doing the hurting of the main self.[166] The only time they refused to obey was when experimenters pretended to act out a group rebellion, since the social trance was broken.[167]

Milgram could also have tested whether it was simple obedience that was really being tested by asking his subjects to reach into their pockets and pay some money to the learners. They would have refused to do so, because they weren't "obeying" any old command, they were using the experimental situation to hurt scapegoats. It is the social trance itself and not "obedience to authority" that is effective in producing destructive obedience. Milgram's subjects, like all of us who participate in wars and social violence, lost their capacity for empathy with victims only when in a social trance. Those who continue to replicate Milgram's experiments and who are still puzzled as to why "the most banal and superficial of rationales…is enough to produce destructive behavior in human beings"[168] simply underestimate the amount of trauma most people have experienced and the effectiveness of the social trance in allowing them to restage these hurts.

At one point Milgram approached the insight that he was dealing with an alternate personality when he discusses what he terms the "agentic state," which is his term for the trance that his subjects were in. "Moved into the agentic state," Milgram wrote, "the person becomes something different from his former self, with new properties not easily traced to his usual personality."[169] Unfortunately, neither Milgram nor any of the others who have performed obedience experiments looked into the childhoods of their subjects to see if those who easily obeyed hurtful commands differed from the minority who refused to do so.[170]

THE GROUP-FANTASIES OF NATIONS

Even though no group is too small to synchronize and act out the group-fantasies of its members, the larger the group the more deeply it can enter into the social trance and the more irrational the group-fantasies it can circulate and act out. The dissociated shame that is operative in small groups is equally there in nations, whether it is Kennedy nearly triggering a nuclear apocalypse in Cuba to revenge "his nose being rubbed in it" or Germany starting World War II to revenge "the shame of Versailles" (die Sham is often used in German for the genital area.)[171]

That nations have a central persecutory task is a widely-denied truth. That nations are necessary for more rational enterprises than war and brutal domination of others is a wholly unproven assumption. In truth, most members of most nations participate in one way or another in the torture and killing of others and in economic and political domination. We only deny it by colluding in such delusions as that leaders are to blame, that suffering is deserved, that punishment reforms, that killing is moral, that some people are not human, that sacrifice brings renewal and that violence is liberating. Indeed, most of what is in history books is stark, raving mad-the maddest of all being the historian's belief that it is sane.

It is only when we begin to recognize the ubiquity of these delusional historical group-fantasies that our personal responsibility begins to return to us-reading the newspaper, watching the nightly news and much of daily life becomes both more painful and more meaningful as empathy

returns to our social lives. For some time now, for instance, I often cry when I watch the evening news, read newspapers or study history books, a reaction I was trained to suppress in every school I attended for 25 years. In fact, it is because we so often switch into our social alters when we try to study history that we cannot understand it-our real emotions are dissociated and therefore unavailable to us.

Nations, the most important group-fantasy constructions of our social alters, act out what seems to be a non-personal history because social events appear to exist in a separate reality and not to be a result of the intentions of individuals. Even when we find a leader to blame events on, we are helpless to explain why anyone followed him, imagining that the leader has the power to "hypnotize" his people. Hitler, for instance, is often assumed to be solely responsible for World War II, just like other wars are blamed upon single individuals-a truly preposterous assumption.

Since the emotional connections between society and self are cut off-nations are often said to behave sui generis-individuals can deny responsibility for what they do and social events can appear to be wholly without motivation. Soldiers who kill in wars are not personally called murderers and politicians who vote to withhold food from children are not personally termed child killers because these actions are imagined to be part of a different reality system, a dream-world that is somehow not really "us." Since people "in their right minds" do not gratuitiously kill others, it is only people "in their wrong minds"-in their other minds, in their social alters-that do.

It is therefore important for me to deny that there is any emotional connection between "Lloyd deMause" and "Corporal deMause with a rifle in Korea," just as there must be no connection made between separate alters of a multiple personality. In both cases there exists a radical splitting of the psyche. As "Lloyd deMause," I love and protect my children and all the children around me. As "Corporal deMause" I was prepared to kill Korean "enemies," even if they were children. As "a good American" today, I vote for my President and pay my taxes that are used to pay American soldiers who enforce an American embargo that murders a million Iraqi children, any more than I noticed America murdered several million Vietnamese children through the poisonous effects of Agent Orange. I do not feel responsible for genocide, even when it is pointed out that my country is killing the children. I have been thoroughly dissociated, switched into my social alter, as you have been, along with hundreds of millions of other "good Americans," just like the "good Germans" who participated in the Holocaust.

The social alter is the carrier of our hidden motivations, but seems to have no motives of its own. In his book In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam, former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara blames the death of three million innocent Asians on what he terms "the law of unintended consequences;"[172] i.e., it was all an inadvertent error, and no American had any motives whatsoever for killing them, certainly not himself, although it was once called "McNamara's war." Hannah Arendt, in her analysis of the trial of Adolf Eichmann, recognized this problem of massive denial when she wrote that the main problem in the Eichmann court was to get people to acknowledge that political actions are personal, that "soldiers" must be "transformed back into perpetrators, that is to say, into human beings." [173]

The concept of the social alter explains why guilt does not prevent people from killing others nor leaders from ordering men to their death. Getting soldiers to kill others is not easy; studies have shown that eighty percent of the soldiers in the wars of the twentieth century refused to shoot at the enemy, even when it meant they themselves might have died because of their refusal.[174] The task of the military is to condition the process of switching into the soldier's persecutory social alter so that he can be cut off from his normal empathic personality. Only when switched into his persecutory social alter can a soldier kill without overwhelming guilt; rarely will he later then connect enough to this killing to admit, as one veteran did, "It didn't hit me all that much then, but when I think of it now-I slaughtered those people. I murdered them."[175] Because soldiers in early wars fought up close so that they could more easily experience personal guilt, rarely more than a few hundred men were usually killed during a battle,[176] while modern wars, specializing in distancing, denial and trance induction training,[177] have in this century killed over 100 million people.

CHILDREARING AND THE SOCIAL TRANCE

Experimental evidence has shown that there is a direct correlation between traumatic childhood and the ability to go into trance.[178] The depersonalization made necessary by childhood trauma as a form of "hypnotic evasion" to avoid the painful impact of early trauma gets called into use as an adult. Thus, it is not surprising to find that a recent survey of political attitudes finds that there is a clear correlation between harsh childrearing and authoritarian political beliefs, the use of military force, belief in the death penalty, etc.[179]

Those who are able to remain outside the social trance are the rare individuals whose childrearing is less traumatic than that of the rest of their society or whose personal insights, through psychotherapy or other means, are beyond those of their neighbors. For instance, extensive interviews of people who were rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust in comparison to a control group of people who were either persecutors or just stood by and allowed the killing of Jews shows startling differences in childrearing.[180] While all other dimensions of the lives of the rescuers were similar to the control group religion, education, even political opinions what distinguished the rescuers from others was their childhood: their parents used reasoning in bringing them up, rather than the customary use by European parents early in the century of beating and kicking children to force obedience. The rescuers' parents were found to have invariably showed an unusual concern for equity, more love and respect for their children, more tolerance for their activities, and less emphasis on obedience, all allowing rescuers to remain in their empathic central personalities and not enter into social alters and dissociate their feelings for Jews as human beings. The rescuers risked their lives to save Jews not because they had some connection with Judaism or were politically radical, but because they remained in their compassionate personal selves rather than switching into the social trance constructed by the rest of their society.

THE DREAM WORLD OF THE SOCIAL TRANCE

Relatively few people are clinically diagnosed as having dissociated personalities.[181] Virtually all of those who are have experienced extreme early trauma: 85 percent were sexually abused, 75 percent were severely physically abused, 60 percent had been subject to extreme neglect, 40 percent had witnessed violent death, and a large number of them had been victims of extreme sadism, including torture, childhood prostitution, near-death experiences, being locked in cellars

and trunks, and so on.[182] Dissociation scores in a randomized sample of the general population have shown that dissociative experiences of various sorts are quite common tens of millions of Americans have experienced dissociation during religious and other rituals and that dissociation is a continuum ranging from minor to major forms.[183] Yet most of us only massively dissociate when we are in our social alters, when we participate in the dream world of the group trance.

Social alters have a developmental history for each of us. They begin their independent existence in our earliest hours as protectors, then as persecutors and finally develop into the organized persecutory group-fantasies of adulthood, while retaining elements that betray their early origins. Thus the traumatic material of our earliest years, full of hellish wombs, hurt and abandoned children, terrifying mommies and violent daddies, is organized by fairy tales, movies, TV programs and schools, first into dragons and knights and eventually into Evil Empires and American Presidents fighting Star Wars. However disguised from their infantile origins, these adult political fantasies are organized into persecutory social alters, then made real by shared delusional visions of the world and trillion-dollar weapon systems, our group-fantasies made concrete.

SCAPEGOATS AS POISON CONTAINERS FOR TRAUMAS

That we can switch between our central selves and our social alters so easily without anyone noticing it is a testimony to the dissociated state of the social trance. Multiple personalities, too, existed long before they were clinically recognized-multiples were usually called "possessed" or "crazy"-and no one noticed that they were amnesic to the host personality. People in earlier societies spent much of their time in their social alters-a world of spirits and gods and magic-because they had badly damaged private selves due to their extraordinarily abusive and neglectful upbringing. Modern nations, of course, have their own group-fantasies, the dream world of politics, there being no psychodynamic difference between a tribal chief proclaiming how women's menstrual blood pollutes the tribe and a Nazi proclaiming how Jews pollute the German bloodstream.

It is not difficult to see politicians switch back and forth between their central selves and their social alters, often using the royal "We" when speaking of themselves when in their social alters. For instance, Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich stood on the floor of Congress in 1996 and spoke with passionate intensity about the need for cutting all kinds of government aid for children (cut nutrition assistance for 14 million children, cut Social Security for 750,000 disabled children, cut Medicaid for 4 million children, plus slash aid to 9 million children benefiting from Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Head Start, education grants, child health care, aid to homeless children, etc.)[184] Few helpless children in America would avoid the sacrificial ax. Then, in a blink of an eye, Gingrich switched from his persecutory social alter back to his real self and called for tax credits for poor children to buy laptop computers so they could access the Internet!

What had happened was this: Gingrich had been inaugurated as Speaker of the House, becoming world famous and appearing on the covers of the newsweeklies, and had received a book contract for $4.5 million. All this personal success made his hidden self, needy-baby Newt, son of a severely manic-depressive teenage mother and a battering father,[185] feel jealous and cry out "ME TOO! I NEED SOME LOVE!" His conscious self was threatened with being overwhelmed with the memories of deprivation, despair and dependency that he had so long repressed. The

same process was happening to millions of other newly wealthy Americans who favored cutting welfare and child aid. Rather than Gingrich feeling his neediness, he dumped it into scapegoats, millions of needy American children, letting them feel his despair for him, saying they had to cut off their aid because it was making children "too dependent." What poor children had done wrong was to be dependent and helpless. Gingrich's social alter had the task of protecting him against the repetition of his early traumas by punishing stand-ins for himself for their dependency. He felt that his own helplessness was to blame for his being neglected by his mother; therefore helpless, dependent children, symbols of himself, had to be punished. Children must not be dependent, he declared; their neediness makes them bad. That he particularly singled out stopping aid to children of teenage mothers gave away the inner sources of his crusade, being himself a child of a teenage mother. And while Gingrich's individual traumatic history as a child of a teenage mother wasn't shared by the other Congressmen who voted the cuts in welfare into law nor by the President who signed the legislation, they and those Americans who supported them shared traumas of equal severity to collude in using the children as scapegoats.[186]

Because so much of America at that time had become so prosperous the highest gross domestic product per person of any nation in history most of the nation colluded in considering Gingrich's delusional actions "social," not "personal." No one asked if his persecution of children of teenage mothers had anything to do with his being a child of an unwed teenage mother; obviously it wasn't a measure designed to reduce teenage pregnancies, the majority of which are the result of seduction or outright rape by men much older than the teenagers.[187] In fact, only 8 percent of welfare mothers were unwed teenagers; welfare actually reduces teenage pregnancies.[188] And two-thirds of teenage babies were made by fathers who were over 21, essentially raping the teen mother.[189] But these facts didn't deter the nation's convictions. No one asked why during a period of unparalleled prosperity the nation's most important agenda suddenly became to pass federal legislation that punished children, including one provision specifically prohibiting states from making any payments for baby diapers.[190]

Nor was Gingrich alone in this group-fantasy of "bad children." Congressmen began calling children on welfare "bloodsuckers" and "alligators" and "wolves" who were preying on taxpayers. One even waved a sign on the floor of Congress that said, "Don't feed the alligators."[191] Presidential candidate Sen. Phil Gramm, introducing provisions into the welfare "reform" bill dubbed the "Home Alone" bill because it forced mothers of little children to go to work even when they had no day care[192] declared that if the government paid welfare to unwed mothers the nation would soon be flooded with illegitimate babies, predicting that "soon there will be more illegitimate babies in America than legitimate."[193] He seemed quite sincere in his fear of the specter of the U.S. swamped by an explosion of dependent, sinful bastards devouring his wealth, stating "the battle against welfare is a battle for civilization."[194]

If helpless children of the poor were seen as bad babies and voracious alligators, then obviously they were all scapegoats who were "poison containers" needed by the nation to feel early memories of hunger and despair at being unloved and abused. Without poison containers, we would have to feel these feelings ourselves. Gingrich and Gramm knew that they were acting as delegates for millions of other Americans who, like themselves, had been feeling successful recently (corporate profits had just soared 40 percent, the stock market was up over 50 percent) and who now unconsciously needed poor children to feel their emotions for them. This

psychohistorical "war on children" takes place whenever a nation experiences a prolonged period of peace and prosperity and turns from external to internal "enemies," as in the movement to cut benefits for "the undeserving poor" in the peaceful, prosperous periods of the 1840s, the 1890s and the 1920s. Gingrich's attack on needy children was identical, in fact, to what Ronald Reagan did when he became Governor of California. Reagan had received a $2 million gift from his political backers, disguised as a payment for some barren land he owned, and, like Gingrich, was feeling guilty about being rich and famous for the first time in his life.[195] To punish his greedy childhood self, Reagan cut out virtually all funds for the Needy Children's School Lunch Program, plus cut meal allowances for retarded children. His goal wasn't saving money; he actually doubled total expenses during his term. But his sacrifice of helpless children was simply a magical guilt-reducing device.

The scapegoating of children to silence the hurt child inside oneself is extremely effective in reducing intrapsychic anxiety. Even chimpanzees scapegoat infants when tense, seizing them from their mothers and flailing them against the ground, often killing them in "aggression-displays."[196] In 1996, America too was displaying aggression toward children, internal scapegoats in order to make us feel better. Millions of Americans watched Newt Gingrich on TV or readed about his speeches the next day in the paper had to deny that two very different Gingriches had spoken as he cut out welfare for children and in the next moment proposed giving them laptop computers. Some columnists acknowledged that providing laptop computers for ghetto kids while cutting off their food money was a "crazy" idea. One, whose column was headed "Newt to Poor: Let Them Eat Laptops,"[197] pointed out that ghetto children don't have much use for tax credits since they usually don't pay taxes, but even he wasn't curious about how Gingrich could simultaneously champion both starvation and free computers for poor children. Like early observers of multiple personalities, he merely labeled the idea as "crazy," but never asked how and why and when Gingrich moved in and out of his "crazy" alternate personality.

RESTAGING EARLY TRAUMAS IN THE SOCIAL TRANCE

The childhood sources for Gingrich's political program are so overt they should be obvious to all, yet because we are in a social trance when we hear him we collude to deny them. The media widely reported, for instance, that Gingrich was a child of a teenage mother, but carefully didn't connect it with his speeches on how teenage mothers should be punished for having children. The traumatic events of his infancy had to be restaged and millions of children made to feel his despair because in his social alter the child feels responsible for his or her own abuse and neglect, and so a scapegoat for the child self must be punished. As always in politics, the social alter's primary identification is with the abuser.

That cutting out welfare for children was a reaction to prosperity, not really a way to save money, was admitted by many politicians. Senator Pat Moynihan pointed out even President Clinton bore responsibility for the success of Gingrich's campaign to "dump the children on the streets, "[198]since Clinton promised to "end welfare as we know it." "It is almost beyond imagining that we will do this," Moynihan said. "In the middle of the Great Depression, we provided a Federal guarantee of some provision for children, dependent children. In the middle of the roaring 90's, we're taking it away."[199] But the seeming contradiction is in fact the point: it is because the 90s were roaring we had to punish children, scapegoats for the "bad, needy" child alter in our heads. The Congressman who told the media, "It's time to tighten the belt on the

bloated stomach of the Federal government"[200] himself had a very large stomach, but no one mentioned this as he voted to cut the lunch money for skinny little kids.

When the 61-year-old federal welfare program, the Aid to Families With Dependent Children program, the benefits for disabled children and the food stamps guarantees were finally repealed with the backing of both parties and of the President, the sacrifice of America's children was complete. Many commentators and politicians said this would "prevent children from being dependent." It was useless to point out to people who are dissociated and in a social trance that children or other poison containers were helpless human beings who were the victims of their actions. Nor could one have made any impression pointing out that appearing to save a few billion dollars by depriving today's children would cost hundreds of billions in tomorrow's crimes. The children were full of our projections; they weren't real to us.

Examples of mass dissociation of perpetrators are legion. Lifton documents how Nazi doctors "double" themselves and create an "Auschwitz self" to divest themselves of responsibility toward those they experimented on.[201] The Nazi commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Höss, when asked if the Jews he killed had deserved their fate, replied that "there was something unrealistic about such a question, because [we] had been living in an entirely different world," that is, the world of social alters. Jews weren't particularly personally hated. Their blood just had to flow in order to purify the blood of Germany. And America, in the 1990s, had to conduct a genocide of over a million Iraqi children through our embargo in a trance-in fact, no one noticed we were killing them! They weren't human because they weren't real. We were just punishing evil Iraqis. The Nazis used to say they were just cleansing Europe of Jewish pollution. How could one ask if Jewish children deserved to be killed? "It never even occurred to us," Höss said.[202] We were just "good Germans" and "good Americans" when we killed millions of children. The most important psychodynamic of history is people's ability to switch deep into their social alter, identify with the perpetrator and periodically persecute helpless people who represent ones' own childhood self. It is the social alter's duty to remove bad, sinful children. As one German policeman ended his description of his execution of Jewish children:

…while leaving the execution site, the other comrades laughed at me, because pieces of the child's brains had spattered onto my sidearm and had stuck there. I first asked, why are you laughing, whereupon Koch, pointing to the brains on my sidearm, said: That's from mine, he has stopped twitching. He said this in an obviously boastful tone…[203]

The psychohistorian asks: "Did he wonder incredulously what could possibly justify his blowing a vulnerable little girl's brains out? Do Americans wonder why they must gratuitously kill a million innocent, helpless Iraqi children?" The answer is that it is precisely because children are innocent and helpless that they must be obliterated, to punish them for our own imagined sinfulness.

MERGING WITH THE PERPETRATOR

Ultimately our social alters merge with the perpetrator of early traumas. In wars, we initially hallucinate that children are being hurt (in the Gulf War, we imagine them hurt by Saddam Hussein, claiming he killed babies in incubators), but of course the result of the war and the embargo was for Americans to kill millions of children. In group-fantasy, we merge with the

aggressor in order to avoid feeling helpless and then inflict damage upon child-scapegoats under the guise of "saving children."

We see this merging with the perpetrator in every scapegoating group-fantasy. When anti-Semites persecute Jews, they are merged with the abusing parent and punishing the abused child. Jews must be persecuted, says St. John Chrysostom, for their "lewd grossness and extremes of gluttony"-betraying the sexual seduction and constant hunger experienced by children of his time; Jews are "murderers of the Lord"-and must be punished for the murderous rage children felt toward their abusers, their Lords, their caretakers.[204] Adult events, political and economic history, usually provide only proximate causes of scapegoating group-fantasies; their ultimate cause lies in earlier traumatic events.

FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL ALTERS

Social alters are a product of the evolution of the human brain. The evidence we will shortly examine suggests our species began with little more private selves than chimpanzees, controlled mainly by our unconscious thalamo-amygdalan memory systems and living with little self-consciousness or empathy. Humans only began being able to form more fully conscious selves as the acquisition of language and the evolution of childrearing produced a major epigenetic (additional to genetic) evolution of our psyche. By splitting off and then sharing the feelings in our social alters, we have become able to remain "sane" some of the time and get about the daily business of living our lives, while walling off in a separate part of our psyches our most painful traumas and deepest feelings.

Our social alters contain early levels of our unbearable hurts ("Why didn't mommy want me?" "Why did daddy hit me?"), restaged as fairy tales ("Are there witches?" "Will the monster kill me?") and then as social questions ("Shall we take children away from teenage mothers?" "Is Saddam Hussein a new Hitler who will blow up the world?"). The adaptive function of social alters is that they allow people to go about their daily business without being overwhelmed by traumatic memories and resulting despair-as "crazy" people are overwhelmed. By dissociating early persecutors into our social alters and then identifying with these persecutors in our social lives, human beings manage to live more sane daily lives, while warding off unseen but felt dangers by "feeding" victims of society to terrifying religious, political and economic divinities. So important to our sanity is the social alter that when a poison container for a group-fantasy is removed, tremendous anxiety is aroused that has to be defended against by creating a replacement. For instance, the disappearance of the Evil Soviet Empire in 1989 unexpectedly led to an outbreak of enormous shared anxieties by Russians, other Europeans and Americans alike, anxieties that were then defended against by constructing new internal enemies like immigrants, minorities, welfare mothers and children to replace the missing external enemy.[205]

INDUCING THE SOCIAL TRANCE

Earlier societies were so deep into the social trance that although they often had excellent intellectual knowledge about the world, based upon experience, they nevertheless shared the most bizarre magical beliefs imaginable while in their social alters. Adaptationist evolutionary theories flounder on the ubiquity of these bizarre and patently nonadaptive cultural traits. There is nothing adaptive in maintaining a belief that if you put a stick into a cowrie shell and it falls to the side, someone will soon die,[206] or the belief that wars restore the potency of men and societies.

Most of culture consists of behaviors like these, which become explainable by developmental psychology, not by theories of adaptation to environments. Because early societies had so little development of private self in childhood, they lived most of their lives in their social alters in a "Dreamtime" world of malevolent witches, ghosts and other persecutory spirits. Both devouring witches and the helpful animal familiars of shamans, for instance, have been shown to be actual alters which are first constructed in childhood as imaginary companions[207] i.e., they are first protective alters created by the child to help handle trauma and only in adulthood do they become persecutory social alters. Whether you are a New Guinea cannibal, an ancient Greek mother, a Balinese trancer or a Nazi antisemite, you first form an alter in your head of a devouring, bloodthirsty demon, using traumatic memories going all the way back to the poisonous placenta, and then you collude with others to project this image onto that of a horrible witch, a devouring Striga, a bloodthirsty leyak spirit or a poisonous Jew in order to relieve your intrapsychic stress.

Our political beliefs today are often no less magical than the religious beliefs of earlier times. The belief that killing and burning Jews can cleanse German blood is based on the same kind of trance logic as earlier beliefs that killing and burning children in sacrifices to gods will assure better crops. Both depend upon social alters to keep their real selves sane. Only after switching into their social alters can normally peaceful people become persecutors, don frightful masks or swastika uniforms and chop enemy's heads off or gas Jews. Then, their traumas restaged, they can go home, remove their masks and alters and have dinner with their families.

Every known society has trance rituals designed to help switch members into their social alters, entrain their group-fantasies and prepare them for social action designed to relieve emotional distress. Bourguignon counts 437 societies out of 488 studied that have formal trance rituals,[208] but she uses

5:3 A man in his social alter

a very narrow definition of what constitutes a trance. In fact, no society lacks its trance rituals. Apparently being dissociated from your social alter for any length of time leaves you feeling that you have lost an important part of your self your hurt self. As the !Kung bushman said when asked why he had to join a trance dance ritual every week, "I can really become myself again."[209] Many cultures even have a special word for the depression one feels when a social event ends,[210] the "social hangover" that feels, they say, as if someone has died the loss of their social alter, a vital part of themselves.

Anthropologists often watch their subjects enter into their social alters, but are trained to apply the dogma of cultural relativism to what they are seeing in order to deprive it of meaning. They regularly encounter local populations who are usually friendly to them and others, but who periodically go off into violent frenzies and chop off men's heads or girl's genitals. Rather than posing a question as to why their subjects seem to have two distinctly different personalities, they instead say that the violent personality was merely "learned cultural behavior"-i.e., that it had no meaning or motivation. Historians do the same with their subjects' behaviors during wars and genocides.

The anthropology and neurobiology of ritual trances has been extensively studied.[211] The time-honored techniques of formal trance induction are well known: fasting, rapid breathing, inhalation of smoke and ingestion of drugs, infliction of pain, and the use of drumming, pulsing music and dancing all "driving behaviors" designed to reproduce the pain, hypoxia and shock of early trauma and entrain the biological rhythms of the group. Neurobiologically, the amygdaloid-hippocampal balance plays a pivotal role in trance states, with an increase in theta-wave rhythm in the hippocampus, indicating increased attentional activity to early amygdalan-centered memories, allowing access to dissociated traumatic experience.[212] The motivations for going into the group trance, however, have remain unstudied.

The leader of any group is a delegate for the group's trance induction needs. Freud, following LeBon, noticed the resemblance of group fascination to a hypnotic trance. Hitler confirmed his insight:

I have been reproached for making the masses fanatic…But what you tell the people in the mass, in a receptive state of fanatic devotion, will remain like words received under an hypnotic influence, ineradicable, and impervious to every reasonable explanation.[213]

That recapturing and then restaging early trauma are the goals of the social trances is suggested by the discovery by Hilgard of the correlation between the severity of childhood punishment and ability to go into a hypnotic trance.[214] Although many small groups admit that the goal of their trance rituals is an attempt to heal trauma, we tend to deny this today. Yet when the rationalizations of our trance rituals are stripped away and their hidden rhythms and embedded messages are revealed to analysis, their traumatic bases are made convincingly evident.

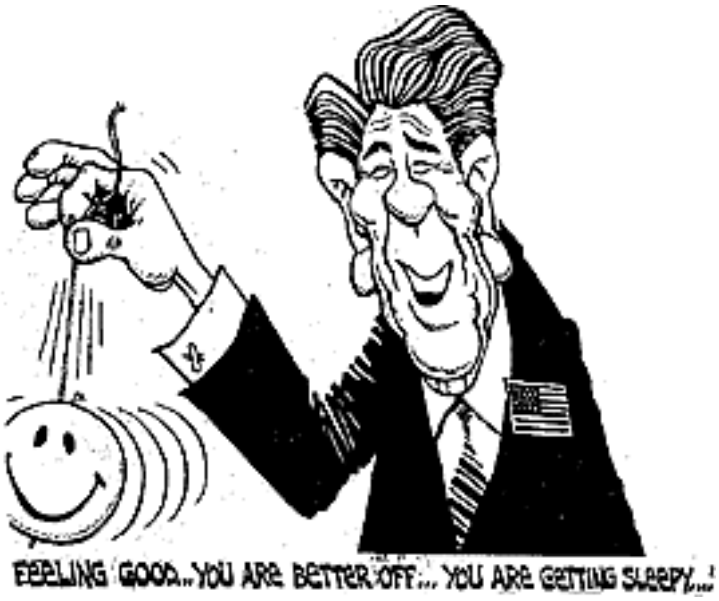
FANTASY ANALYSIS

I have developed and tested over the past two decades a technique I call fantasy analysis of revealing the hidden messages embedded within seemingly bland and boring speeches and press conferences of leaders as well as other verbal and non-verbal political material.[215] The purpose of

fantasy analysis is to capture how it feels to be part of a nation's shared emotional life. Other psychohistorians have confirmed that doing a fantasy analysis of political material can be a Rosetta Stone that can uncover new dimensions to our group-fantasies and can even be used to try to forecast future political behavior.[216] Just as experimental psychologists have shown that visual stimuli subliminally presented tachistoscopically for a hundredth of a second register in the unconscious and in dreams while bypassing consciousness,[217] so too subliminal messages are embedded in speeches and in the media by their choice of certain metaphors, similes and emotional images rather than others. A fantasy analysis of a speech or other historical document will remove the defensive posturing and locate the emotionally powerful fantasy words that contain the embedded real message, decoding the hidden content through the relationships of the imagery. The rules for fantasy analysis are simple:

1. Record all strong feeling words, even when they occur in innocuous contexts, such as "kill the bill in Congress or "cut the budget." Be abstemious; recording mild anxiety words simply clutters the analysis, although it rarely changes the emotional content of the hidden message.
2. Record all metaphors, similes and gratuitously repeated words.
3. Record all family terms, such as mother, father, children.
4. Eliminate negatives, since "we don't want war" still is about war and could have been phrased "we want peace."
5. Rewrite the fantasy words in sentences to reveal the hidden messages.

My books and articles over the past two decades have contained extensive fantasy analyses of Presidential speeches and press conferences, and can be consulted as examples of how the process reveals the group-fantasies of the nation at specific historical moments.[218] The following analysis of President Ronald Reagan's Acceptance Speech for re-election will give an example the fantasy analysis technique, plus it will illustrate the process of trance induction, the search for traumatic content and the leader's unconscious pact with the nation on what should be done.



5:4 Ronald Reagan shown as trance inducer

Most political meetings are usually held not to make decisions but to deepen the social trance, to switch into social alters and to entrain the group's unconscious emotional strategies for handling the inner emotional problems of its "hidden world." The following speech was given by Ronald Reagan at the 1984 Republican Convention. Political conventions are similar to the "carnival gatherings" of chimpanzees, where they "dash about in excited, nonaggressive display, which acts to relieve tensions"[219] or the "trance dances" of !Kung bushmen, which accomplish ritual cleansing of depression. Even before political speeches begin, important trance induction conditions are established. The audience is usually immobilized in crowded seats, recapturing the helplessness of infancy. In the 1984 Republican Convention, a special film was shown to the delegates on a huge television screen above the podium before Reagan began speaking. It was so boring-mainly his giant face, as though he were a huge mother and the delegates were infants-that the audience already began to dissociate. As hypnotherapist Milton Erickson writes, being very boring is one of the most powerful trance induction techniques, since the conscious mind soon loses reality anchors.[220] The only persons the audience could focus upon were cadres of young Republicans pumping their arms in the air and shouting rhythmically, "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" as though they were !Kung trance drummers.[221]

Reagan began the trance induction part of his speech at heartbeat speed that is, with accents at about 70 beats per minute, although normal speaking rates are usually above 120 beats per minute. Almost all politicians speak at this abnormally slow rate of 70 beats per minute, even when microphones make their words clear to a large audience. This is the rate of the mother's heart beat one first heard in the womb. Other trance inducers-priests and hypnotists-also instinctively slow down to 70 beats per minute, entraining their audiences to a mother's heartbeat. To emphasize this regression to the warmth of the womb, Reagan's first fantasy words (put in bold type) to his audience and to the nation watching on TV are (read this to yourself very slowly to feel its dissociative effect):

Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, delegates to this convention, and fellow citizens. In 75 days, I hope we enjoy a victory that is the size of the heart of Texas. Nancy and I extend our deep thanks to the Lone Star State and the "Big D," the city of Dallas, for all their warmth and hospitality.

After these womb-like words, Reagan begins to speak baby language, as though he were talking to an audience of three-year-olds-a technique also used by the hypnotherapist Milton Erickson to induce trances through age regression and mind-splitting boring content. Erickson usually tells parables, in baby language, often about animals; Reagan does the same (again, read very slowly and watch your eyelids begin to feel heavy):

Four years ago I didn't know precisely every duty of this office, and not too long ago, I learned about some new ones from the first graders of Corpus Christi School in Chambersburg, Pa. Little Leah Kline was asked by her teacher to describe my duties. She said: "The President goes to meetings. He helps the animals. The President gets frustrated. He talks to other Presidents."

What is most astonishing isn't just that the leader of the most powerful nation on earth-faced with soaring deficits because of his huge military buildup and threatening a war with a neighboring state-should begin his explanation of his plans for the nation for the next four years

with baby talk. What is surprising is that no one noticed anything strange! The speech seemed "normal politics," Reagan was called a "master speaker." We are all quite used to leaders speaking boring baby language to us at an exaggeratedly slow pace. We periodically ask our leaders to put us into a trance so we can switch into our social alters and coordinate our fantasies. Reality is quite beside the point.

Reagan repeats more "heart" words (which I will skip to save space) and then begins to further dissociate the conscious mind from the unconscious with repeated splitting words, in much the same way that a hypnotist splits your attention by telling you to watch one of your arms rise while the other one falls:

The choices this year are not just between two different personalities or between two different visions of the future, two fundamentally different ways of governing-their government of pessimism, fear and limits, or ours of hope, confidence, and growth. Their government-their government sees people only as members of groups. Ours serves all the people of America as individuals. Theirs lives in the past, seeking to apply the old and failed policies to an era that has passed them by. Ours learns from the past and strives to change by boldly charting a new course for the future. Theirs lives by promises, the bigger, the better. We offer proven, workable answers.

The final induction technique is age regression:

Our opponents began this campaign hoping that America has a poor memory. Well, let's take them on a little stroll down memory lane…

The social trance is now becoming effective, and the group has switched into their social alters. The audience has become biologically entrained with the speaker and with each other; they are moving subtly together, though no one has thought it important to measure this in political meetings other than such obvious entrainments as synchronized flag movements or mass Nazi salutes. This entrainment itself evokes early memories, since it recalls how babies entrain to the voices of the adults around them within minutes of birth (and possibly even in utero,)[222] swaying and moving their head, arms, body and fingers to the sounds of adults.

After the trance induction, Reagan then begins what Erickson terms the unconscious search, attempting to locate what feelings are bothering the audience and nation at this particular historical moment. (I will from here on only reproduce sentences with fantasy words to save space.) Here is what Reagan says is bothering the nation at the end of 1984:

Inflation was not some plague borne on the wind…they were devastated by a wrong-headed grain embargo…Farmers have to fight insects, weather, and the marketplace-they shouldn't have to fight their own Government…Under their policies tax rates have gone up three times as much for families with children as they have for everyone else…Some who spoke so loudly in San Francisco of fairness were among those who brought about the biggest single individual tax increase in our history…Well, they received some relief in 1983 when our across-the-board tax cut was fully in place…Would that really hurt the rich?…

That the first fantasy word of the unconscious search for shared feelings should be plague warns us of serious emotional disturbance, since this has been the code-word for paranoid fantasies of group pollution from the delusional apocalyptic plagues of antiquity to "the Jewish plague" of modern antisemitism. What could be the source of the feelings of a plague and of a devastated society? Perhaps something to do with fight and children who are loudly cut and hurt? Maybe hurt children are too loud? The search continues (I now only record the fantasy words to save space):

pushed…creep…out of control…control…control…. control…
tightening…strangling…misery…misery…misery
…dropping…births…relief…shrinking…shrink…fell…fallen…children…controlling…children
…grandchildren… immoral…

Feelings of strangling, being pushed and general misery seem to be the problem. All this misery is blamed on out of control, immoral children. As usual, we blame our own "out of control" growing childhood selves for our troubles. (The immorality of children is confirmed later in the convention by the Christian Right attack on teenage sex.)

What can be done to stop these immoral children? In the main section of his speech, Reagan now tells what should be done, thus giving a posthypnotic command to the nation and concluding a "trance pact" between the leader and his people:

sell out…betray…fear…wars…strong…warlike…students… crushing…genocide…young men lost their lives…sacrifice
…murderous…students…war…cut…cut…violence…burial…children…buried…drunken…war
…war…children…ridding the earth…threat…

Rewriting these fantasy words in complete sentences, we find that the audience, the nation and Reagan have made the following trance pact:

We will sell out and betray to fear in wars strong warlike students. In a crushing genocide young men will have lost their lives in a sacrifice that will be murderous. Students in the war will be cut, cut with such violence we will have a burial of children. They will be buried in a drunken war. The war on children will accomplish ridding the earth of the threat in our heads.

The central project of Reagan's second term of office-going to war against Nicaragua-is now a posthypnotic command, a pact with that part of the nation which has become entranced with him (entered the social trance). Only those Americans who were not in the social trance-more recent psychoclasses whose childhoods were better than the majority-ended up opposing Reagan's push in the next three years toward a Central American war, which was then only narrowly avoided.

The speech ends with the audience switching out of their social alters back to their main personalities, accomplished by images of peace, warmth and, again, "heart":

peace…cradle…peace…torch…torch…torch…torch…torch…bloodlines…torch…torch…torch
…torch…lamp…children…heart

The people in the audience then hit their hands together in order to awaken themselves from the deep social trance-for ten full minutes. The nation, watching, now knows what they should be trying to do for the next four years: sacrificing young men to end the plague of out-of-control, immoral children. Reagan went on to be re-elected by an overwhelming majority of the nation, who agreed it would satisfy their persecutory social alters if they could sell out immoral children who could be buried in a drunken war.

Confirmation of the group-fantasy in the leader's message can be obtained by watching the political cartoons appearing at the same time showing the nation's hidden feelings in visual, pre-verbal form. At the end of 1984, for the first time in Reagan's presidency, cartoons appeared of children being sacrificed, supposedly to "Deficits" or "Abortions" or "Anti-Abortion Terrorism" or "Mother Russia," but really to our needs for child sacrifice.

5:5 Fantasies of child sacrifice in Reagan's America

Other psychohistorians and students using the fantasy analysis technique have often begun with the feeling that the choice of fantasy words and the meaning ascribed to them in my books and articles seem arbitrary. But though when they tried to analyze historical material in this manner themselves, they usually found that their choices and interpretations came very close to mine. Many of these fantasy analyses have been published in The Journal of Psychohistory over the past three decades.[223]

GROWTH PANIC AND MATERNAL ENGULFMENT

One of the most thoroughly documented results of the past three decades of study of group-fantasies is that they are inexorably tied into the person of the leader. Since political feelings are so much a defense against growth panic and resulting fears of abandonment by early love-

objects, groups organize and entrain their fantasies about how it feels to be part of the group at any particular historical time more around feelings about the leader than any actual historical events.

The central fantasy function of the leader of any group, small or large, is to defend against repetitions of early trauma and abandonment, along with handling wishes for merging with the terrifying mother. Leaders are usually imagined as male protectors against maternal engulfment fears. Group analyst Didier Anzieu describes the small groups he studies as follows:

The group is a mouth…essentially female and maternal….One of the most active, or rather paralyzing, unconscious group representations is that of a Hydra: the group is felt to be a single body with a dozen arms at the ends of which are heads and mouths…ready to devour one another if they are not satisfied.[224]

When the leader is imagined to be strong, he can successfully defend against the group's engulfment fears; when the leader appears to weaken, all growth is dangerous, and desires for merging and fears of maternal engulfment increase, so the leader must somehow act to defend against the growth panic. Extensive studies by Gibbard and Hartman of fantasies of small groups have found that

groups center on the largely unconscious fantasy that the group-as-a-whole is a maternal entity, or some facet of a maternal entity….The fantasy offers some assurance that the more frightening, enveloping or destructive aspects of the group-as-mother will be held in check…a major function of the group leader is to ward off envelopment by the group-as-mother…the group leader is imagined to have mastered the group-as-mother and thus to have gained some of her mana for himself. This makes him a threat as well as a protector…[225]

The reason small groups and nations are unconsciously experienced as destructive mothers is that group development requires an increase in independence and individuation, as members grow, respond to new challenges and try to change their patterns of behavior. This independence revives earlier feelings of maternal abandonment, when the mother-herself having experienced a traumatic childhood-was threatened by the child's independence, as seen in this case related by Masterson:

She seemed to be overwhelmingly threatened by her child's emerging individuality, which sounded as a warning that he [her child] was destined to leave her…she was unable to support the child's efforts to separate from her and express his own self through play and exploration of the world…Consequently, she was unable to respond to the child's unfolding individuality…the child became afraid of being taken over or engulfed [and] feared abandonment, giving up further individuation.[226]

Thus all groups from bands to nations experience growth, progress and social development with fears of maternal engulfment and abandonment. The worse the childrearing, the more growth panic is triggered by individuation and self assertion. The course of cultural evolution is determined by the reduction of this growth panic through the evolution of more supportive childrearing. Since this childhood evolution is very uneven, more advanced psychoclasses cause

"too much" social progress for the majority of society. Old defenses become unavailable and people cannot dominate various scapegoats-wives, slaves, servants, minorities- in quite the same way as before. These less advanced psychoclasses-the majority of society-begin to experience tremendous growth panic, and new ways to handle their anxiety must be invented. For them, change is everywhere; things seem to be "getting out of control." This is why growth and self assertion, whatever it is called-hubris, chutzpah, original sin, human desire itself-are proscribed by the religious and political systems of most societies. Societies whose institutions progress beyond their average childrearing mode become the most fearful and most violent, since their growth panic depends upon both the amount of early trauma and the amount of social progress. Thus unaccustomed Weimar freedoms lead directly to Auschwitz in a Germany formed by brutal childrearing.

The violence resulting from the fear of maternal engulfment has, in fact, been empirically found to be related to the mother's actual engulfing behavior. For instance, Ember and Ebmer[227] found in their cross-cultural studies that where the mother sleeps closer to the baby than to the father, and therefore tends to use the baby as a substitute spouse, there is more homicide and assault, and there is also a higher frequency of war, both correlations as predicted by the psychogenic theory.

Because growth revives the fears of the earliest pre-verbal period of life, the growing growth panic of groups and nations is also often felt as loss of body parts or as loss of blood. Masterson says, "Many patients describe this in graphic physical terms, such as losing an arm or leg, being deprived of oxygen, or being drained of blood."[228] The fears reach all the way back into the womb, when growth could produce deprivation of oxygen and insufficient blood from the placenta. This is why periods of peace, prosperity and social progress in nations with poor childrearing often lead to growing paranoia about enemies who are about to invade, tear one's nation apart, deny one's Lebensraum and drain off the national life-blood. Behind all these paranoid fears is a growth panic and resulting fear of engulfment, a panic and a fear that originated first in relation to the earliest caretaker, the mother.[229]

Maternal engulfment fears can also be handled by merging with the engulfing mother in fantasy and then sacrificing oneself or a substitute for oneself to the engulfing mother. Many early religions feature a female beast that is worshipped and to whom human sacrifices are made. The Mayans, for instance, sacrificed human hearts torn out of a living victim's chest to jaguar gods and even handed over their children to living jaguars to be eaten, while in one section of India sharks were until recently worshipped and "both men and women went into a state of ecstasy and offered themselves to the sharks [by entering] the sea up to their breasts and are very soon seized and devoured [by the sharks.]"[230] Maternal engulfment fantasies are very often acted out in concrete form in social rituals whether religious or military. Initiation ceremonies usually feature men in animal masks who "devour" initiates, and battlefields are often pictured as "devouring mouths" engulfing soldiers "sent into their maw" to sacrifice themselves "for their motherland."

If there ever were a society where parents really helped their children to individuate, it would be a society without growth panics, without engulfment fears and without delusional enemies. The enemy is a poison container for groups failing to grapple with the problems of an emerging self. The enemy therefore inherits the imagery of their growth panic, so the enemy is usually

described in terms of our childhood desires for growth. “They” (for instance, Jews) are imagined to be guilty of the pejorative form of every one of our desires: “greed” (all our wants); “lust” (our sexual desire); “pushiness” (our striving) and so on. It isn’t even necessary that the enemy really exist. Simple societies imagine that witches, ancestors and spirits are relentlessly persecuting enemies, and some nations-including Japan today-can even imagine Jews as bloodsucking national enemies when there are virtually no Jews in their country.[231]

LEADERSHIP AND DEFENSES AGAINST GROWTH PANIC

Political leaders are intuitively aware that their main function is to provide grandiose manic antidotes to growth panic. Every society acknowledges somehow its function as a defense against maternal engulfment. Most Melanesian societies openly admit that the main function of their rituals is to counter the disastrous effects of polluted menstrual blood.[232] Ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian societies were constructed around rituals that countered their panic about succumbing to chaos, constantly fearing female “chaos-monsters [who] drank people’s blood and devoured their flesh.”[233] Many Western political theorists, such as Machiavelli, have also seen political authority as necessary to combat “feminine chaos.” My psychogenic theory only differs in ascribing this fear of maternal abandonment to fantasy, not reality to childhood family life, not adult social life.

The more primitive the dominant childrearing mode of a society, the more growth panic must be defended against. New Guinea fathers are often so certain their boys are going to be engulfed by poisonous menstrual blood and eaten up by witches that they cut themselves to get their own “strong” male blood and feed it to the boys to strengthen them.[234] Most sacrificial rites are performed to ward off dangerous “blood pollution.”[235]Political leaders regularly go to war over fears of the enemy’s polluting dangers, such as Hitler’s fears of “foreign blood introduced into our people’s body.”[236] Wars are said to be particularly useful in “scrubbing clean national arteries clogged with wealth and ease.”[237] Indeed, poison-cleansing is a central purpose of all social rituals, whether the cleansing is accomplished by wars, religious sacrifices or depressions, all of which have been said to cleanse the body politic of sinful pleasures and freedoms.[238] Those leaders who, like Franklin Roosevelt, can reign during both a war and a depression are, of course, the greatest leaders of all.

The fears of abandonment that are triggered by social progress are felt by nations to be dramatized in their relationship with their leader, who is felt to be growing more and more distant and less and less able to provide grandiose manic projects to defend against their growing growth panic. The increasing impotence and weakness of the leader can be seen in the much-watched “ratings” he gets in his public opinion polls, which, after starting at a peak, usually decline during his term, unless revived by some particularly effective defensive manic action that the leader engages in.[239] This is just the opposite of what one would rationally expect, which is that as a nation gets more and more evidence of what the leader can accomplish, should become more confident in his capacities. But leaders instead usually are imagined to weaken in office, because growing growth panic makes them seem more distant, less potent.

Ancient societies knew this feeling of weakening of leadership very well, and regularly set up some of their most important rituals to revitalize the powers of their kings. The earliest of these rituals were held annually, climaxing in rituals of purgation, whereby the community rids itself

of pollution; rituals of mortification and sacrifice, whereby fasts and other punishments were undergone to purge people of their dreaded desires; and rituals of combat, whereby battles were fought with projected forces of evil.[240] Later, divine kings provided defenses against maternal pollution, and were held to be intimately connected with the health of the crops, animals and people. Early Greek kings reigned for eight years, and were thought to have weakened so badly during this time that they either were killed themselves, found a substitute (sometimes the eldest son) or had to go through regeneration rituals. To be regenerated, the king would go first through a humiliation ritual-be slapped on the face to repeat the people's childhood humiliations-and might even go through the ritual process of dying and being born again.[241] Thus the phrase: "The King is dead; long live the King!" Or, as Robespierre declared in 1792, "Louis must die because the patrie must live."[242]

In modern democratic nations, we usually don't actually kill our leaders; we periodically throw them out of office and replace them with revitalized substitutes. But the decline in potency of the leader his inexorable abandonment of us as we grow still is felt today. This is because the leader is less a figure of authority than he is a delegate, someone who tells us to do what we tell him we want done, someone who "takes the blame" for us. As poison container for our dissociated social alter, the leader is expected to absorb our violent feelings without collapsing. Many societies actually designate "filth men" to help the leader with this task, relatives who exchange blood with him so they can "intercept" the poisonous feelings of the people directed at him. In modern nations, cabinet members are our "filth men," and are regularly sacrificed when the leader is under attack.

This leadership task of being the delegate of irrational desires of the people makes leaders experts in masochism, rather than sadistim, as traditional power theory requires. This explains why Janus found in his study of Washington D.C. prostitutes that powerful politicians got their sexual thrills by playing masochistic, not sadistic, sexual roles, finding that "By far the most common service politicians demand from call girls is to be beaten," hiring women to pretend to inflict upon them "torture and mortification of the flesh…and mutilation of their genitals."[243]

Only by being our delegates by carefully following our unconscious commands-are leaders followed. We might follow them into war and lay down our lives to combat an enemy they alone designated, but the moment they try to ignore the group-fantasy and avoid our hidden commands, pelople simply do not hear them. For instance, Kaiser Wilhelm II, when caught up by the Germans' need for an enemy in order to justify the paranoia that accompanied their growing prosperity, sent excessive demands to Serbia, hoping they would be rejected. When Serbia agreed to virtually everything he wanted, he announced that "every reason for war drops away," and gave orders to stop military movements. His subordinates simply acted as though they had not heard what he said, and the war began without him.[244] As soon as he didn't carry out the emotional needs of the nation, which required war to offset progress, he was ignored.

The notion that leaders really lead, not follow, is as much a group-fantasy as the leader's charismatic power to command the sun's rise and fall.[245] A leader is a single individual sitting at a desk in one corner of one city. The power we conditionally delegate to him resides in the group-fantasy, since the leader's function is to act as a poison container for our group-fantasies. If he should unexpectedly die, the container disappears and our fears return to us in a rush. Even if he

has been a totally incompetent leader, we panic. Small-scale societies often erupt into a fury of witch fears following the death of a leader;[246] early societies often accompanied the death of the king with the slaughter of hundreds of victims;[247] Yugoslavia embarked on a paroxysm of rape and killing following Tito's death. The leader is seen as omnipotent only because he must appear strong enough to contain our projections. But this strength is purely magical and has nothing to do with real accomplishments. The Maoris often renew their vigor by crawling through their leader's legs and touching his powerful penis, and rich Americans have paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to touch the President in the White House.[248] But the charisma of leaders is purely a defensive grandiosity of our own, compensating for our feelings of childhood helplessness. Thus a leader's strength seems inevitably to decay.

THE FOUR PHASES OF LEADERSHIP

Fantasy analyses I have done of magazine covers and cartoons over the past two decades[249] reveal that there are four phases of group-fantasies about leaders, as they become less and less able to provide grandiose manic solutions to the nation's growing growth panic. Since group anxieties are embedded in a fetal matrix, these four phases of group-fantasy parallel the four phases of birth.[250] The four leadership phases are: (1) strong, (2) cracking, (3) collapse and (4) upheaval.

5:6 Strong Phase

In the first year or so of his term of office, the leader is portrayed as grandiose, phallic and invincible, able to hold all forces of evil at bay and able to contain the unconscious anxieties of the nation. Photos of the leader appearing on magazine covers and in newspapers are mainly taken from the level of a small child, making him seem like a strong parent. International political crises occurring in this strong phase are rarely seen as dangerous or as requiring an active response; wars are rarely started in the first year of leadership.[251] The strong phase is actually as unrealistic as later phases, since people imagine that their private emotional lives will be magically much better simply because yet another savior sits in an office somewhere, not because they plan to devote themselves to real change.

5:7 Cracking Phase

In the next year or more, the leader's deification begins to fail, and he is shown as weakening, often appearing in cartoons with actual cracks in him as he is seen as increasingly impotent and unable to handle the emotional burdens of the nation. The media spend an inordinate amount of time analyzing whether this or that minor event might make the leader weaker. While the nation responds to solid economic growth through more and more manic overinvestment and overproduction, fears of growth are increasingly expressed, as "things seem to be about to get out of control"-i.e., the nation's real progress begins to stir up abandonment fears. The nation engages in an increasing number of economic and political manic projects to ward off their abandonment depression. Evil monsters are depicted in cartoons as starting to pursue the leader, and the group's boundaries are felt to be cracking, with images of leaking water and crumbling walls predominating, as though the nation's womb-surround is cracking. Complaints of being crowded, hungry and breathless begin, enemies start to proliferate and become more threatening.

5:8 Collapse Phase

The leader and various delegate-groups are expected to voice and take some grandiose manic action to relieve those feelings, restaging the imagined threat rather than remaining hypervigalent and paranoid forever. Nations react to foreign policy crises more belligerantly in their collapse

phases than in their strong phases.[252] Even before an "enemy" is chosen, the government often takes some economic measures to "stop things from getting out of control," making more and more "mistakes" in economic policy that are unconsciously designed to slow progress, such as deflationary monetary policies. The nation also conducts "purity crusades" to put an end to the sexual and other liberties supposedly responsible for the nation's moral collapse.[253] Troops are often scurried around the world to meet minor emergencies or to prepare for action. Free-floating paranoid fantasies multiply of poisonous enemies, who are often pictured as envious of the nation's progress and about to strike, so that "preemptive action" against them seems necessary.

The collapse phase ends with a hypervigilant paranoid "search for a humiliating other"-an enemy who, in a moment of group-psychotic insight, can be identified as the concrete source of the nation's distress

5:9 Upheaval Phase

The leader begins the upheaval phase pictured as a wimp, overwhelmed by poisonous forces, impotent to ward off disaster, which is often depicted as a dangerous water-beast (poisonous placenta) along with images of floods, whirlpools and devouring mouths-media magery similar to medieval depictions of Hell as a Devouring Demon.[254] Anti-children crusades multiply, attacking people's projected inner child for being spoiled, sinful, greedy and out of control. When the growth panic is at a peak, "poison alerts" are declared and fears of maternal abandonment and wishes for maternal engulfment and rebirth proliferate. Political cartoons and popular movies contain more and more apocalyptic upheaval birth fantasies, full of vaginal tunnels and exploding pressures. Rational national progress seems to be unimportant, group-delusions and group-trance projects are at a peak, and action becomes rresistible as the nation searches for some magical restoration of potency.[255] This restoration, rebirth or revitalization wish turns into a group ritual that at times can take one or more of three forms:

(1) Regicidal Solution If the leader fails to find an appropriate enemy, he himself can be designated as the enemy of the nation, and a ritual slaying is enacted, either by actual regicide or by throwing him out of office. Should he be reelected at the end of his first term, a symbolic death and rebirth ritual is enacted, and the leader has more time to find a solution to the growth panic.

(2) Martial Solution-If an external enemy can be found who will co-operate by humiliating the nation as they felt humiliated by their parents during childhood, this enemy can now be seen as the source of all their fears, and military action can be taken by the now-heroic leader in order to

clear out the pollution and produce a rebirth of national strength and purpose. Wars are often preceded by apocalyptic growth panic movements, "Great Awakenings" and other end-of-the-world group-fantasies.[256] The leader is split into two parts, and the "poison" part is projected into the "enemy" leader, who agrees to engage in a mutual humiliation ritual and then fight the cosmic battle between good and evil and "flush out" the nation's fears.

The nation feels often enormous relief by the designation of the enemy, rather than being fearful of war's destructiveness. The finding of an external enemy as a poison container produces a burst of dopamine-filled euphoria. As Churchill wrote his wife in 1914, as England prepared for war, "Everything tends toward catastrophe and collapse. I am interested, geared up and happy." Similarly, on the day President Truman decided to send U.S. troops to Korea one American wrote from Washington, D.C. that "Never before…have I felt such a sense of relief and unity pass through this city…When the President's statement was read in the House, the entire chamber rose to cheer."[257] The sending off of the nation's youth to be killed in wars becomes a scapegoating of one's own vital self, the blood shed is felt to be a purging of the polluted blood infecting the nation's arteries and the identification with the nation's grandiose military leaders is felt to be a magical restoration of potency. Genocidal wars are the most extreme example of cleansing group-fantasies. They are most often engaged in by nations with especially poor childrearing compared to their neighbors, at times when they are attempting to make a leap into modernity, so that the unaccustomed freedom creates an intense growth panic which can only be cleansed by a sacrifice of millions of helpless scapegoats, representatives of the nation's "polluted" aggressive and sexual wishes.

(3) Internal Sacrifice Solution-If the leader cannot find an external enemy with whom to engage in a sacrificial war, he often turns to an internal sacrifice, either a violent revolution or an economic downturn. At the end of the 1920s, for instance, as economic and social progress seemed to have gotten "out of control," world bankers-chief sacrificial priests of modern nations-pursued deflationary economic policies, trade barriers were erected and many other "mistakes" were made that were motivated to produce the Great Depression that sacrificed so much of the wealth of the world. As Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon said in 1929 as the Federal Reserve pushed the world into the Great Depression, "It will purge the rottenness out of the system."[258] Business cycles, as William K. Joseph has shown, are driven by the manic and depressive cycles of group-fantasy,[259] as manic defenses against growth panic are followed by depressive collapses into emotional despair and inaction. Indeed, most death rates car crashes, homicides, cancer, pneumonia, heart and liver diseases rise during prosperous, manic times and are lower during depressions and recessions.[260] Only suicide internal sacrifice rises during economic declines, reacting to the prevailing group-fantasy need for internal sacrifice.

Depressions and recessions are thus not due to "the Invisible Hand" of economics but are motivated sacrifices that often kill more people than wars do, halting dangerous prosperity and social progress that seem to be getting "out of control." That growing wealth often produces anxieties rather than happiness can be shown empirically. From 1957 to 1995, Americans doubled their income in real dollars, but the proportion of those telling pollsters that they are "very happy" declined from 35 to 29 percent.[261] Periodic economic downturns are the antidotes administered by sacrificial priests for the disease of "greed." Cartoons prior to economic downturns often portray greedy people being sacrificed on altars or children being pushed off

cliffs,[262] scapegoats for "greedy" childhood selves felt to be responsible for the trauma once experienced. Like Aztec human sacrifices,[263] recessions and depressions are accompanied by national sermons, "cautionary tales," about how sacrifices are necessary to purge the world of human sinfulness.

The choice between these different solutions to growth panic follows cyclical patterns, wars and depressions alternating in group-fantasy cycles of varying lengths. The empirical historical investigation of these "long cycles" of group-fantasy will be examined in detail in the next chapter, "War and Cycles of Violence."

Chapter 6: War as Righteous Rape and Purification

"War! It meant a purification, a liberation … and an extraordinary sense of hope."
Thomas Mann

Happy people don't start wars. They don't need "purifying" or "liberation," and their everyday lives are already full of hope and meaning, so they don't need a war to save them from anything.

What sort of strange emotional disorder is it that war cleanses, liberates and saves people from? And how can killing, raping and torturing people be acts that purify and restore hope in life? Obviously war is a serious psychopathological condition, a recurring human behavior pattern whose motives and causes have yet to be examined on any but the most superficial levels of analysis.

STANDARD THEORIES OF CAUSATION OF WAR

All standard theories of war deny that it is an emotional disorder at all.[1] War, unlike individual violence, is usually seen solely as a response to events *outside* the individual. Nations that start wars are not considered emotionally disturbed–they are either considered as rational or they are "evil," a religious category. Although homicide and suicide are now studied as clinical disorders,[2] war, unfortunately, is not.

Most historians of war have given up in advance any attempt to understand its causes, claiming "it is simply not the historian's business to give explanations."[3] Genocide, in particular, appears outside the universe of research into motivations, since if one tries to understand Holocaust perpetrators, one is said to "give up one's right to blame them." At best, historians avoid the psychodynamics of the perpetrators of wars entirely, saying, "Leave motivation to the psychologists."[4]

The standard explanations given for war by political scientists and anthropologists equally avoid clinical understanding. Instead, they break down war causes into three general categories:

1. ***Instincts and Other Tautologies****: The most popular cause of war is that it is a result of a human instinct for destruction. From Clausewitz's "instinctive hostility"[5] and Freud's "instinct for hatred and aggression"[6] down to biologists' statements that war is "macho male sexual selection" that "accelerates cultural evolution,"[7] none of them notice that simply assuming an instinct for war without any neurobiological, genetic evidence at all is wholly tautological, saying no more than "the group's desire for war is caused by the individual's desire for war." Since tribes and states spend more of their time at peace than at war, one must also then posit an "instinct for peace," which, through group cooperation, should favor survival even more. One can proliferate tautological instincts at will, but only evidence counts. Unfortunately, all tests for the heritability for violence have failed completely.[8] The best study of instinct theories concludes:*

"Human warfare, and indeed killing, are too rare to be the product of a drive that needs to be satisfied. There is no drive or instinct that builds up, gives rise to aggression, is satiated upon release, and then builds up again…Furthermore, humans also have a genetic inheritance shared with fellow primates for peacemaking, and that propensity must also be factored into the equation."[9]

Tautological explanations proliferate in the field of war studies. Historians are particularly prone to claiming that the reason a lot of people do something is because they all are just following each other, a perfect tautology. War is often said, for instance, to be caused by "ideology" or by "the culture of militarism" of this or that state[10] *or by "a marked tendency for the military to prepare offensive military plans."*[11] *But saying war is caused by an arms race is about as meaningful as saying homicide is caused by someone buying a gun. What one expects when asking for the motivation for homicide is not how the perpetrator got the weapon but the internal development of his psyche plus the events leading up to the violent act. Besides, empirically most states start wars without an arms buildup. Germany in 1913-1914, for instance, spent less on her military than France and Russia,*[12] *yet began WWI because she felt insecure with a smaller army than other countries and felt paranoid about being attacked.*

Yet another common tautological reason for wars is that they are "preventive." Bismarck put that reason in its place when he was urged to start a preventive war by saying it was "as irrational as committing suicide because one was afraid to die."[13] *America even today continues to have a "first strike nuclear deterrence" preventive war policy that is based on the causing of 600 million deaths as "acceptable."*[14] *Just as meaningless are all the theories of war being caused by "lack of collective security," or "the anarchic nature of the state system" or similar systems theories. The lack of instruments to prevent wars is a symptom not a cause; presumably if one could discover the underlying causes of war and reduce their power, states would then set up international systems of settling differences and of providing collective security. As Holsti puts it, "To argue that we have war because of systems structures is analogous to an argument that we have automobile accidents because we have highways."*[15] *One must not reify groups; only individuals have motives.*

2. ***Greed as a Motive for War:*** *War is usually claimed to be purely plunder by social scientists: "War is defined as stealing en masse what other men own."*[16] *Yet we would never accept greed as a real motive from a man who murders his family after taking out life insurance on them, nor would we accept the excuse of greed from a man who raped and murdered women and then took some of their jewelry. Even thieves turn out to have deeper motives than greed. As James Gilligan, a prison psychiatrist who has spent his life analyzing the lives of criminals, puts it, "Some people think armed robbers commit their crimes in order to get money. But when you sit down and talk with people who repeatedly commit such crimes, what you hear is, 'I never got so much respect before in my life as I did when I first pointed a gun at somebody.'"*[17]

That anyone should imagine that hundreds of millions of people can enthusiastically engage in mutual mass butchery over minor pieces of territory is so patently ludicrous that it is a wonder anyone could ever have taken it seriously; yet this what historians and political scientists still ask us to believe. The entire "rational decisions" school of war theorists, all of whom claim utility as the ultimate motive for war, run up against the extensive empirical research done on

hundreds of wars in recent years that consistently shows that wars are destructive not rational, that wars cost even winners more than they gain, that those who begin wars usually lose them and that leaders who go to war historically never actually calculate before they do so whether the gains will exceed the costs.[18] *Zinnes summarizes the results of all this testing of war as a rational activity motivated by materialistic gain as follows: "After thirty years of empirical research, in which we have devoted an enormous amount of time to collecting, measuring and summarizing observations about nation-state behavior, we cannot find any patterns" that show any relationship at all between war frequency and economics, population density or any other material condition of states.*[19] *Otterbein even shows that cross-culturally there is "no influence on war of economic or ecological factors;" even tribal warfare destroys far more than it gains, and tribes rarely even pretend they are going to war to gain territory.*[20] *Rummel concurs, finding from his huge historical database that a country's propensity to go to war is unrelated to its economic development, its technological abilities or even its military capabilities.*[21]

The costs of wars have repeatedly been demonstrated to be far in excess of any gains that could be hoped for.[22] *In Vietnam, it cost America hundreds of thousands of dollars to kill each enemy soldier; the world even today spends trillions of dollars a year to fight wars and maintain military forces, far in excess of anything that could be gained by war. In fact, wars are so self-destructive that when a nation goes to war the people must at some level realize that they are engaging on a truly suicidal venture. Often, a careful examination of the actual historical decision process reveals explicitly suicidal imagery. As just one example from many, when Tojo called together the Japanese leadership to decide whether or not to attack Pearl Harbor, he went around the table and asked each minister to tell what he thought would happen if they attacked the U.S. Each one forecast decisive defeat. It was so obvious that an attack would be suicidal for Japan that Tojo ended up saying, "There are times when we must have the courage to do extraordinary things—like jumping, with eyes closed, off the veranda of the Kiyomizu Temple."*[23] *The Kiyomizu Temple was well known to all present as the place in Kyoto where people committed suicide.*

3. ***Stress Theories of War:*** *Even those theories of war that allow that it is wholly irrational end up blaming economic stress as the cause of the irrationality. "Hard times make people feel threatened and frustrated," so they go to war from the emotional stress of economic downturns. Most leaders who try to promote peace cite the stress theory: "By eliminating the economic dissatisfaction that breeds war we might have a chance for lasting peace" (Sumner Hull) or "Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want" (Franklin Roosevelt).*[24] *Marxist theorists in particular believe wars break out because of capitalist economic downturns. In particular, most theorists believe WWII was caused by stresses of the economic Depression.*

The problem with these stress theories is that empirically wars usually occur during economic upswings, not during depressions. Wars not only occur far more frequently after prosperous periods, but are longer and bigger after prosperity, "six to twenty times bigger as indicated by battle fatalities."[25] *Macfie finds "the outbreak of wars has avoided years of heaviest unemployment…excessive expansions are required to germinate the seeds of war."*[26] *In Europe since 1815, no great-power wars have been started during a depression.*[27] *WWI broke out after 40 years of growth of real incomes for workers (80 percent higher for Germans),*[28] *and even WWII broke out several years after Germany had regained and surpassed pre-Depression levels*

of production–the supposed cause, economic distress, having disappeared by 1939. Wars are in fact prosperity-reducing rituals. They are responses to what we have earlier termed growth panic–responses to progress and prosperity, not to depletion. What is depleted when nations decide to go to war is their emotional not their economic resources.

By examining only the sociogenic and not the psychogenic sources of war, major theorists to date have been disappointed by the total lack of results of their research. David Singer concludes that the study of war has failed to "achieve any significant theoretical breakthrough" and is saddened by the fact that no one has found any "compelling explanation" for war.[29] Bruce Bueno de Mesquita admits that "we know little more about the general sources of international conflict today than was known to Thucydides…[perhaps] scientific explanations of such conflicts are not possible."[30] Such extreme pessimism is understandable. Clausewitz's dicta that war is an extension of political policy has been fully discredited, and all the usual reasons for wars –for territory, for revenge, to obtain sacrificial prisoners, to obtain *coups*, as God's will, to stop dominoes from falling–turn out to be only rationalizations.[31] But the failure to find valid motives for wars only applies to sociogenic theories, ones that carefully avoid the psychological model of human violence that has proved so fruitful in the study of the causes of homicide and suicide. We will first turn to the results of the recent clinical studies of individual violence before we propose our psychogenic theory of war.

THE CLINICAL STUDY OF HUMAN VIOLENCE

Because those societies which have the harshest child-rearing practices have been shown to produce low-esteem adults who have the highest incidence of murder, suicide and war,[32] the study of human violence can most fruitfully begin with examining the findings of clinicians who have closely interviewed murderers and determined their motives.

Most of what we usually believe about interpersonal violence is unconfirmed by statistics. Homicide is not regularly higher in big cities; cross-cultural studies find there is "no significant associations between community size and homicide or assault."[33] Nor do men assault their spouses more often than women do; studies in various countries show "wives hit their husbands at least as often as husbands hit their wives,"[34] although men do more damage with their assaults.[35] When war is counted as violence, men constitute at least 75 percent of the victims of lethal physical violence in the United States, and die from two to five times as often from personal violence as women do world-wide.[36] Mothers are not more often gentle while fathers mainly do the hitting of children; in fact, American mothers today abuse their children nearly twice as much as fathers.[37]

Both statistically and clinically, researchers have found violent adults have only one thing in common: poor childrearing.[38] Studies of homicidal youths, for instance, found 90 percent could be documented as coming from severely emotional, physical or sexually abusive families.[39] James Gilligan summarizes his decades of interviewing murderers:

In the course of my work with the most violent men in maximum-security settings, not a day goes by that I do not hear reports–often confirmed by independent sources–of how these men were victimized during childhood. Physical violence, neglect, abandonment, rejection, sexual exploitation and violation occurred on a scale so extreme, so bizarre, and so frequent that one

cannot fail to see that the men who occupy the extreme end of the continuum of violent behavior in adulthood occupied an extreme end of the continuum of violent child abuse earlier in life….As children, these men were shot, axed, scalded, beaten, strangled, tortured, drugged, starved, suffocated, set on fire, thrown out of windows, raped, or prostituted by mothers who were their "pimps"…

The cause of adult violence, says Gilligan, is a "collapse of self-esteem" triggered by an incident in which the murderer imagines himself or herself to be humiliated and shamed, resorting in what he calls a "logic of shame, a form of magical thinking that says, 'If I kill this person in this way, I will kill shame–I will be able to protect myself from being exposed and vulnerable to and potentially overwhelmed by the feeling of shame.'"[41] Gilligan points out that shame is at the root of mass violence too, pointing out that "Hitler came to power on the campaign promise to undo 'the shame of Versailles'–and clearly that promise, and the sensitivity to shame from which it derived its power, struck a responsive chord in the German people as a whole."[42] Though criminologists report that in homicides "the most common altercation was of relatively trivial origin: insult, curse, jostling, etc.,"[43] these shaming events turn childhood traumas into current rage, what Katz terms "righteously enraged slaughter,"[44] producing a "tremendous rush [that is] almost orgasmic" for the murderer[45] as they *avenge all their past hurts and humiliations*. "All violence," says Gilligan, "is an attempt to achieve justice."[46] As we shall shortly see, this includes mass violence as well, which also involves imagining one achieves justice through violent, righteous vengeance for earlier wrongs.

THE NEUROBIOLOGY OF VIOLENCE

People start wars when something changes in their brains, neurotransmitters, hormones and cellular neuropeptide systems.[47] This "something" is the result of a developmental process that begins before birth and is turned into a capacity for violence during childhood. Contrary to the views of Freud and Piaget, children are actually quite empathic toward others from birth if treated well. Neonates cry in response to the crying of another baby; "even 6-month-olds…responded to distressed peers with actions such as leaning toward, gesturing toward, touching or otherwise contacting the peer."[48] Babies who are treated well can be quite generous with their love, gently touching and patting other babies and even their mothers when they notice they look sad.

But the majority of children throughout history–particularly boys, who are physically and emotionally abused more than girls–feel so helpless and afraid that they grow up in what has been called a "culture of cruelty,"[49] where they graduated from violent families to form gangs and try to dominate and hurt each other in order to be perpetrators rather than victims, thereby preparing themselves for cooperating in the violence of war. In one study, for instance, Lewis and Pincus report "a significantly greater proportion of very violent children demonstrated…paranoid symptomology [and] believed that someone was going to hurt them…constantly feeling the need to carry weapons such as guns and metal pipes for their own protection…"[50] The more violent children, Lewis reports, "had been physically abused by mothers, fathers, stepparents, other relatives and 'friends' of the family. The degree of abuse to which they were subjected was often extraordinary. One parent broke her son's legs with a broom; another broke his fingers and his sister's arm; another chained and burned his son; and yet another threw his son downstairs…Several children witnessed their fathers, stepfathers, or

mothers' boyfriends slash their mothers with knives. They saw their siblings tortured with cigarette butts, chained to beds, and thrown into walls."[51] Severe neglect and emotional abuse have been shown to be equivalent to and often worse than physical abuse in producing lasting traumatic effects upon children.[52]

The neurobiological affects of trauma upon children have been extensively studied. As we have discussed earlier, serotonin levels are reduced by trauma, and are found in reduced levels in adult antisocial personalities, because the lower level of their inhibiting ability allows less control over impulsivity and therefore higher rates of violence.[53] External stress also increases corticosterone production, decreasing the effectiveness of the hippocampal system which evaluates the emotional meaning of incoming stimuli.[54] Psychopathic personalities have been found to be "actually slower to respond emotionally than the rest of us…Even when they're just sitting around, antisocial individuals are more low-key than the average person" because their noradrenergic behavioral inhibition systems were crippled due to excessive early neglect, traumas and over control by caretakers.[55] Very early maternal neglect in particular produces an undersized orbitofrontal cortex–the brain region behind the eyes that allows one to reflect on one's emotions and to empathize with the feelings of others–resulting in such a diminished self and such a low capacity for empathy that the baby grows up literally unable to feel guilt about hurting others.[56] Thus swaddled babies abandoned to cribs in dark rooms–as most children were in history–who totally miss the mother's gaze and loving interaction in their early years are programmed for later impulse disorders, psychopathic personalities and the need for killing in war, simply because they never have developed what today we consider "normal-sized" orbitofrontal cortexes through sustained eye contact and mutual play with the mother. As Shore puts it:

The orbitofrontal cortex functionally mediates the capacity to empathize with the feelings of others and to reflect on internal emotional states, one's own and others'….The socioaffective stimulation produced by the mother's face facilitates the experience-dependent growth…children deprived of early visual sensory stimulation…frequently show impairments in representational and affective functions that are responsible for severe emotional problems.[57]

Lesions of the orbitofrontal cortex produce unregulated aggression and dramatic mood state alterations in both humans and other animals because "unmodulated rage represents a hyperactivation of the…dopaminergic system [and] impulsive acting out episodes]of] narcissistic rage."[58]Children neglected and abused in early months "manifest pathological self-importance, or narcissism, displayed as…grandiosity, recklessness…insecurity and emotional shallowness [plus] the inability to feel ordinary human empathy and affection for others and the perpetrating of repeated antisocial acts."[59] Thus the slow evolution of childrearing results in a slow historical increase in size in the average orbitofrontal cortex and more balanced serotonin, dopamine and other hormonal levels, resulting in a steady reduction of grandiosity, paranoia and uncontrolled rage and a diminishing historical rates of infanticide, homicide, suicide and war deaths.

DISSOCIATION OF THE TWO BRAINS

One of the most important findings of Athens from his lifetime of interviewing of violent criminals is that before they kill they consult "phantom communities" who approve of their

violent acts as revenges for past humiliations.[60] These phantom communities are, of course, identical to the "social alters" I have discussed previously, where dissociated violent selves and internalized harmful caretakers are kept and engaged in dialogues that influence our deepest emotions and approve of our most violent behavior. Athens determined that violence didn't just follow trauma; it required a further "belligerency stage of violentization" during which the brutalized subject resolves in consultation with his inner phantoms, his alters, that he or she has had enough, that violence is sometimes necessary if one isn't to remain a victim one's whole life and that he or she will now use physical violence for those who unduly provoke or humiliate him or her. These alters are often actual inner voices telling the criminal what to do, so that

their decisions to act violently followed from a dialogue with their phantom communities–the "voices" were their phantom companions coming in exceptionally loud and clear….Lews…corroborated Athens's finding that the self incorporates phantom companions when she examined Arthur Shawcross, the Rochester, New York, so-called serial killer who murdered prostitutes. "Arthur Shawcross also experienced dissociative states," Lewis reports. "At these times he would hear his mother in his head, berating him and the women he was seeing. No one was good enough for Arty. They should die."[61]

These dissociated social alters, it turns out, are concentrated in only one side of the brain, in one hemisphere, a different one in each of us. Frederic Schiffer explains how his studies of dual-brain psychology led him to ask his psychiatric patients to look through special glasses, one pair of which had only the left side of the left eye uncovered (reaching only the right hemisphere), the other only the right side of the right eye (reaching only the left hemisphere), so that the patient would transmit information only to one half of the brain at a time.[62] He found that one hemisphere looked at the world with extreme anxiety and the other saw things more maturely:

One patient, a Vietnam veteran, whom I had diagnosed with a severe posttraumatic stress disorder, looked out of one side and developed an expression of intense apprehension as he looked at a large plant in my office. "It looks like the jungle," he said with some alarm. I asked him to look out the other side, and he said, "No, it's a nice-looking plant."

Schiffer finds he can help patients by having them analyze the emotional attitudes of the traumatized hemisphere, since "the troubled side is often like a traumatized person who hasn't been able to move beyond the trauma, even when removed from it, because he continues to expect retraumatization."[63] Schiffer and others have done extensive work on dual-brain psychology, including putting one hemisphere to sleep with sodium amytal and finding the patient well-adjusted and pleasant, while putting the other side to sleep made him belligerent.[64] He also showed that children who were admitted to hospitals after abuse more often showed abnormalities in brain waves of their left hemisphere and that PTSD patients felt more distress in their left hemispheres. Schiffer concludes:

Traumatic memories are likely closely related to a lower brain center called the amygdala…in each hemisphere which is inhibited by a high-level cortical center, the orbital frontal lobe in that same hemisphere….Both the orbital frontal cortex and the hippocampus tend to try to calm the amygdala…We have too little information to do more than speculate about why the left brain may be more involved in the traumatic experiences of abused patients….Patients who have

strong reactions to the glasses apparently have two distinct parts of their mind–one that sees the world as threatening and one that sees it as much less so….frequently I have asked a troubled part of a person to stop attacking the other part of him, and suddenly the person feels remarkable relief.[65]

These alters which still live in the past, seeing the world as threatening and abusive, constitute, as Schiffer says, two separate minds, one frightened and angry, the other denying the concerns of its partner. When the more grown-up hemisphere moves into new freedom and new behavior, the traumatized hemisphere reexperiences the fear and helplessness it stores from early childhood and produces the "growth panic" I have found lies at the root of war and other violence. This struggle between the hemispheres is not always unconscious; more often it is simply dissociated, with one hemisphere being unaware of the feelings with which the other hemisphere is filled. When Rudolph Höss, SS Kommandant at Auschwitz, says, "I have never personally mistreated a prisoner, or even killed one. I have also never tolerated mistreatment on the part of my subordinates,"[66] he is not being disingenuous. The nontraumatized half of his brain sincerely believes he and his subordinates never mistreated a Jew as they were beating and torturing and murdering them by the hundreds of thousands. His social alter in his traumatized hemisphere was fully in control and cut off all meaning of what he was doing, which to his non-traumatized hemisphere appeared as normal. He had two brains which he was forced to keep separate; as he put it, "Many a night as I stood out there on the railroad platforms, at the gas chambers, or at the burnings, I was forced to think of my wife and children without connecting them to what was taking place."[67]

This dissociation into traumatized alters occurs more in groups because one feels more *helpless* and more *depersonalized* in large groups,[68] particularly in the largest groups, nations, and therefore more fearful. When we think of acting in society or even of what it is like to speak in front of a large group, one feels more open to attack, to humiliation, and one can more easily switch into the traumatized hemisphere. Our first line of defense when in a social trance is to cling to a "strong" leader or a "strong" subgroup, merge our alters with them and join in various group activities, often violent ones, to defend ourselves. Thus it makes sense that Freud, Le Bon and others define the inevitable characteristics of a group as invincibility, grandiosity, irresponsibility, impulsiveness, suggestibility and fearfulness,[69] all qualities of the neglectful and traumatic figures stored in our social alters. Without the laterality of the brain, neither politics nor religion can exist, as they do not in other animals who do not have divided selves. (In fact, the only other animals who do sometimes go to war and murder each other senselessly are chimps and dolphins, both of which are large-brained, lateralized creatures with the beginnings of the ability for self-recognition.) It is only because humans have radically lateralized hemispheres with larger impulse inhibitors–orbitalfrontal cortexes and hippocampuses–that they are able to go to war with one hemisphere and build Leagues of Nations with the other.

The lower the childrearing mode, the more divided are the hemispheres. New Guinea natives can be warm and friendly while in their more mature hemisphere and suddenly switch into thier social alters in the other hemisphere and kill you because they think you are bewitching them. The lower the childrearing mode, the more traumatic the early experiences, and the more divided the hemispheres. In tribal societies, switching into warrior alters is a simple process: "The man

or boy leaves his former self behind and becomes something entirely different, perhaps even taking a new name…the change usually accomplished through ritual drumming, dancing, fasting and sexual abstinence…into a new, warriorlike mode of being, denoted by special body paint, masks and headdresses."[70] In modern societies, with a wide range of childrearing modes, "only 2 per cent of recruits kill easily, so the rest must be brought to do so by careful military training" featuring new traumatic experiences.[71]

The split mind begins to form with early trauma, even perinatally. Fredrick Leboyer, author of *Birth Without Violence*,[72] once told me that babies born with his non-traumatic techniques not only were far more calm and happy after birth but "less one-handed," less brain-lateralized. The two halves of the brain are even sometimes recognized in political imagery. Hitler, for instance, often spoke of a strange "kinship" between the Aryan and Jew (the two sides of his brain): "Has it not struck you how the Jew is the exact opposite of the German in every single respect, and yet is as closely akin to him as a blood brother? …so closely allied and yet so utterly dissimilar."[73] This split mind is responsible for what is termed "the banality of evil;" one side is banal (Winnicott's "False Self"), the other side evil (the "Bad Boy" alter). It accounts for how nations can joyfully choose violent leaders to take them to suicidal wars, and yet one part of their mind can be wholly unaware of what is happening. For example, the following is William L. Shirer's description of sitting in the Berlin *Sportpalast* watching Hitler shouting and shrieking that "he will go to war this Saturday. Curious audience, the fifteen thousand party *Bonzen* packed into the hall. They applauded his words with the usual enthusiasm. Yet there was no war fever. The crowd was *good-natured*, as if it didn't realize what his words meant."[74] The dual brain also explains how "ordinary Germans"–extremely traumatized by "ordinary German childrearing" around 1900–could have, during the Holocaust, "humiliated, beat and tortured defenseless people and then shot them in the back of the neck without the slightest hesitation [and then dissociate and] pose before their living or dead victims, laughing into the camera {and] write home that these snapshots and extermination anecdotes would someday be 'extremely interesting to our children.'"[75]

EARLY MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTIONS AS THE SOURCE OF HUMAN VIOLENCE

The primary sources of violent political behaviors are the concrete mother-child interactions of one generation earlier–how mainly the mother responded to, cared for and conveyed her feelings and fears to her fetus, infant and young child. We have already described in Chapter 3 how going to war is preceded by flashbacks to intrauterine, perinatal traumas and group-fantasies of the need for national rebirth. Here we will begin to examine the sources of human violence in early mother-child interactions.

Videotape recordings of children's relationships with their mothers in the preverbal period "have been shown to remain essentially the same over time and to be duplicated with other 'substitute' mother figures. A child who has a warm, affectionate relationship with the mother will relate to others in a warm, affectionate manner, whereas a child with a guarded, distant relationship will relate to others in a guarded, distant manner."[76]This maternal relationship is eventually restaged in international relations in a concrete manner, being acted out in "the sandbox of history" with nations playing the emotional roles of the mothers and children from early life.

Mothers in history who because of their own life experiences see their children as harmful and aggressive have historically mainly treated them in ways that have made them grow up as violent adults, by routinely inflicting upon them murder, abandonment, neglect, binding, enemas, domination, beatings, sexual assaults and emotional abuses[77] that are later restaged in wars and political behavior. Necessity was not the main source of these cruelties toward children–wealthy parents were historically even more overtly rejecting, giving their children to others at birth for years for what they expected would be abusive caretaking. Fathers have until recently usually only worsened this early traumatic upbringing, since historically the father has almost always been mostly absent from the child's early life –most fathers in history spending their days in the fields or factories and their nights in the taverns (see Chapter 7). When home, fathers have lent little support to mothers in caretaking and emotional nurturance, requiring that his wife "mother" him rather than his children.

Growing up, Mahler found, is built upon basic maternal care, since "differentiation is from the mother, not from the father."[78] Therefore, women not men have until recently for better or worse been the main sources of care, neglect and abuse throughout history. As St. Augustine put it, "Give me other mothers and I will give you another world." His words have been confirmed by recent clinical studies. What Erikson said about girls has been found to be true of all children: "By the time a girl developmentally turns to the father, she has normally learned the nature of an object relationship once and for all from her mother."[79] In short, *mothers are major actors in childhood history*–they are perpetrators[80] and not just victims, as the theory of patriarchy holds.

Most of the extremely abusive historical childrearing practices which are detailed in the next three chapters of this book are routine reactions to the child's daily needs and growth process, wherein immature mothers expect their children to give them the love they missed as a child and therefore experience the child's independence as rejection. As one battering mother said, "I have never felt really loved all my life. When the baby was born, I thought he would love me, but when he cried all the time, it meant he didn't love me, so I hit him."[81] Surveys show mothers in most cultures report initial feelings of "indifference" toward their newborn.[82] In fact, childbirth often triggers post-partum depression and feelings of emptiness[83]because it means the mother must give up her own hopes to receive the care she missed from her own mother.[84] The moment the infant needs something or turns away from her to explore the world, it triggers her own memories of maternal rejection. When the infant cries, the immature mother hears her mother, her father, her siblings and her spouse screaming at her. She then "accuses the infant of being unaffectionate, unrewarding and selfish…as not interested in me."[85] All growth and individuation by the child is therefore experienced as rejection. This is why social progress, prosperity and new political freedoms are so anxiety-producing. "When the mother cannot tolerate the child's being a separate person with her own personality and needs, and demands instead that the child mirror her, separation becomes heavily tinged with basic terror for the child."[86] Children first experience "growth panic" anxieties because their mother rejects, humiliates or punishes them for their needs and for their individuation. As adults, they then turn to paranoid and violent political behavior during periods of growth and individuation because society threatens to reproduce this intolerable early maternal rejection, shame or punishment. Because these maternal interactions are so early, they are primarily nonverbal, which means that politics has a dominantly nonverbal quality that can only be studied by research into illustrations rather than words–group-fantasies

shown in cartoons, magazine covers and TV images. This is why I often watch the nightly news on TV with the sound off.[87]

It is likely that the centrality of mothers in bringing up children is even responsible for the fact that men are more violent than women and universally fight wars. Testosterone is not the cause, as is usually imagined, since (1) testosterone levels are actually *lower* in the most aggressive boys,[88]and (2) "testosterone is present in boys and girls in roughly the same amounts before the age of ten" and (3) although "all normal boys experience a huge surge of testosterone in early adolescence, [they] do not all display increased aggression…[so] testosterone does not cause aggression."[89] Evidence is beginning to accumulate that it is differential treatment of boys, especially by mothers, that is responsible for their higher rates of violence in later life. Boys in every culture are physically punished more often and with greater severity than girls;[90] boys are more often used sexually by their mothers in their early years than girls;[91] boys are given less nurturance, are ignored more often, are spoken to less and are coached to be more violent than girls;[92] boys are subject to over control by humiliation and shame more often than girls;[93] and boys are more harshly disciplined for the same actions by parents and teachers.[94] Mothers also see their boys as "just like his dad," and take revenge against them for their husband's actions–after all, Medea killed her sons, not her daughters, to hurt Jason for his infidelity.[95] Thus although boys begin life with no more aggression than girls, they grow up to be more violent simply because they are less trusted and more feared by their earliest caretakers.

Although the battlegrounds may change, wars–whether between mother and child or between nations–are inevitably about the basic feelings of infancy: trust, security, approval, domination, envy, rage, threats, shame and independence.[96] Since having a child revives in mothers long-dormant wishes for the closeness that they missed from their own mothers, mothers often envy the child each of the needs they are asked to satisfy, thinking, "I never got that; why should my child?" Even today psychologists find many mothers reject their infants in many ways because they "fear bodily damage due to the child's aggressiveness."[97] But before the nineteenth century mothers throughout history were so immature that they thought their infants were so full of violence that they would "scratch their eyes out, tear their ears off, or break their legs" if they didn't tie them up in endless bandages, "so as to resemble billets of wood…so the flesh was compressed almost to gangrene."[98] Therefore, through most of history, early mother-child interactions which most "good-enough mothers" today are capable of–centering around mutual gazing, babbling and smiling[99] –were all missing, because mothers tightly bound their babies up at birth and stuck them in another room, severely neglected for their first year of their lives.[100] International affairs has not throughout history been much negotiated in a secure and peaceful manner because infantile life was not very secure nor peaceful.

Sociologists and historians have avoided looking for the family sources of wars and social violence. Whenever a group produces murderers, the mother-child relationship must be abusive and neglectful. Yet this elementary truth has not even begun to be considered in historical research; just stating that poor mothering lies behind wars seems blasphemous. Instead, the grossest sort of idealizations of historical mothering proliferate. When, for instance, studies of the sources of the extreme violence of the Mafia turn to depictions of Sicilian mother-child relations they inevitably come to resemble the happy, loving families out of "The Godfather." Yet it is only when an Italian psychoanalyst, Silvia di Lorenzo, writes a book on *La Grande*

Madre Mafia that her descriptions of typical Sicilian mother-child interactions begin to give us an accurate picture of the maternal origins of Mafia violence:

If a boy of theirs commits a slight fault, they do not resort to simple blows, but they pursue him on a public street and bite him on the face, the ears, and the arms until they draw blood. In those moments even a beautiful woman is transformed in physiognomy, she becomes purplish-red, with blood-shot eyes, with gnashing teeth, and trembling convulsions, and only the hastening of others, who with difficulty tear away the victim, put an end to such savage scenes.[101]

Thus the conditions of early mothering have profound affects on adult human violence. It is not surprising that Ember and Ember found in their cross-cultural studies that where the mother sleeps closer to the baby than to the father and uses the baby as a substitute spouse–usually sexually–there is more homicide and war.[102] Every childrearing practice in history is restaged in adult political behavior. Children whose mothers swaddled them and were "not there" emotionally could not as adults maintain object consistency and grew up paranoid, imagining "enemies" everywhere. Children whose mothers regularly did not feed them in a timely fashion experienced the world as malevolently withholding. Children whose mothers rejected them with depressive silence experienced peaceful international periods as threatening. Children whose mothers dominated them and who were engulfing often choose totalitarian political leaders. Children whose mothers were so needy they describe their children as "born selfish and demanding" and or who saw them as "angry since birth" experienced other nations as demanding too much or as angry "bad babies." Children whose mothers used them as antidepressants chose manic, often violent leaders to counter their own depression. And mothers who ridiculed and humiliated their children whenever their activities didn't coincide with her own were experienced in the international sphere as poison containers of intolerable ridicule and shame–as in "the shame of Versailles." It is not surprising, then, that violent, authoritarian political behavior has been statistically correlated with rejecting, punitive parenting.[103] As Godwin puts it, society is an "exopsychic structure" where adults restage the "parental purification system" of childhood by "cleansing bad, frustrating and abusive aspects of the parent-child relationship" in the political arena.[104] In Chapter 3 I have dealt extensively with the evidence showing that war and social violence are preceded by rebirth group-fantasies of cleansing and purification of "sins." It is only the elimination of the most abusive and neglectful historical parenting practices in some nations that have allowed them to set up trusting, non-violent rules of political interactions and have permitted them to achieve more or less cooperative democratic societies and to avoid fighting wars with other democracies. Obviously international peace will not prevail until most parents around the world trust rather than fear their children.

THE PSYCHOGENIC THEORY OF WAR

War, then, is the act of restaging early traumas for the purpose of maternal revenge and self purification. Wars are clinical emotional disorders, periodic shared psychotic episodes of delusional organized butchery intended–like homicide–to turn a severe "collapse of self esteem" into "a rage to achieve justice." Wars are both homicidal and suicidal–every German in 1939 who cheered Hitler on as he promised to start an unwinnable world war against overwhelming opposing nations knew deep down they were committing suicide. Like all homicides and suicides, wars are reactions to our failed search for love, magical gestures designed to ensure love through projection into enemies, by "knocking the Terrifying Mommy off her pedestal" and

by "killing the Bad Boy self." As Kernberg puts its, violence occurs only when "the world seems to be split between those who side with the traumatizing object and those who support the patient's wishes for a revengeful campaign against the traumatizing object."[105] Thus the early crisis in maternal love, which had been internalized during childhood in Terrifying Mommy and Bad Boy alters, is resolved by acting out on the historical stage the revenge against the Terrifying Mommy and by the wiping out of the Bad Boy self.

*1. **War as Righteous Rape–Revenge Against the Terrifying Mommy:** Enemy nations in wars are often pictured as women (see Chapter 3), witches, even placental beasts. When they are seen as women, enemies are there to be pushed around, not eliminated, since even when raging against a bad mommy the hurt child knows he needs her desperately. This is why Hitler kept hoping to manipulate Mother England into being friendly. And it is why he didn't destroy Paris when he marched into La Belle France. Nations to the west of Germany were mainly seen as mommies to be revenged against, to be "knocked off their pedestals" but not to be eliminated. "France…was not marked for subjugation but rather for a secondary role in the Nazi scheme [and] Hitler was always keen on reaching some settlement with the British…[therefore] the German army fighting in the west was given strict orders to conduct itself according to the rules of war."[106] The same group-fantasy of war as righteous rape was voiced by Germans in 1914, when they imagined that "only if we are able to hurt England badly will she really leave us unmolested, perhaps even become a 'friend.'"[107]*

*2. **War as Purification–Killing Off the Bad Boy Self:** Enemy nations are also imagined as Bad Boys, disobedient, disgusting, violent, sexual–everything one was accused of as a child by one's caretakers. If the Bad Boy self can be killed off entirely, "finally mommy will love me." This is why Hitler vowed to wipe out the "bad" nations to the east and settle "good Germans" in their place. Poles, Russians, Jews, every nation east of Germany were projected with Bad Boy imagery: "Slavs were considered subhumans, to be either murdered…or starved to death."[108] Moscow, Hitler promised, would be leveled and turned into a reservoir, and Jews would be totally eliminated. In addition, WWII would be a suicidal mission for millions of Germans, thus killing off the "Bad Boy" part of themselves, the most vital, growing, independent self. Then the "good German" self that remained would be purified and would finally be loved by mommy, the Motherland.*

It is not surprising that in early societies bloodthirsty War Goddesses ruled over battlefields, since wars are all about resolving the crisis between Terrifying Mommies and Bad Boys. Leaders are delegated the task of being sacrificial priests. Even simple societies go to war to win the love of mommy; in the Yanomamo war ritual myth, the culture hero Child of Water goes to war and slays enemies to "end chaos" and "do what his mother desires and thereby win her approval."[109] The role of the father in war is quite different: it is to provide the violence needed to rape and revenge the Terrifying Mommy and to punish and wipe out the Bad Baby. Hitler carried a dog whip everywhere he went, the same whip he and millions of German children were beaten with by their fathers.[110] Oddly enough, nations don't go to war as revenge against bad fathers–the drama is earlier than that. Even though children are terribly frightened by their father's violence in the family, the goal in starting wars isn't finally to take revenge against the father, but to "kill the shame," to purify the self and to force mother to love you–to organize men into Fatherlands so they can conquer Motherlands.

Nations switch into their dissociated traumatized hemispheres after periods of peace and prosperity because the individuation challenges of social progress means separating from mommy, a dangerous act in adulthood if it was not allowed by the mother in childhood. Ralph Waldo Emerson, among others, noticed the growth panic that went along with prosperity and progress when he wondered in his journal why Americans felt such a "strange melancholy in the midst of abundance."[111] Increases in freedom and prosperity for people who have been abused as children lead first to fears of separation and then to a clinging to the early abusive mommy, even to merging with her. But to merge with a mommy means losing one's masculinity–it means becoming a woman–therefore long periods of peace mean castration. Thus Kant's dicta that wars are necessary because "prolonged peace favors…effeminacy" parallels Machiavelli's claim that war exists to purge nations of *effeminato*, the "daily accretion of poisonous matter [caused by women's] conspiracy to 'poison'…manhood" and John Adams' query to Jefferson, "Will you tell me how to prevent luxury from producing effeminacy, intoxication, extravagance, vice and folly?"[112] In fact, in groups where they do not have effective war rituals available when people experience severe ego disintegration, people often go *amok*–a dissociative state where people suddenly kill people in wild, uncontrolled sprees, as often occurs in the otherwise placid Balinese.[113] Even chimpanzees "go *amok*" when given food supplies by humans and "engage in episodes of apparently unprovoked explosive…behavior…as though they had entered an ASC [Alternate State of Consciousness]…to discharge an inner state of tension…similar to human dissociative behaviours…"[114] Prosperity appears to be anxiety-producing even in non-human primates, switching them into their more violent, dissociated hemispheres. Chimpanzees who are not artificially fed by anthropologists live in "peaceful, open groups without signs of any dominance hierarchy, enforced territoriality or single leaders."[115]

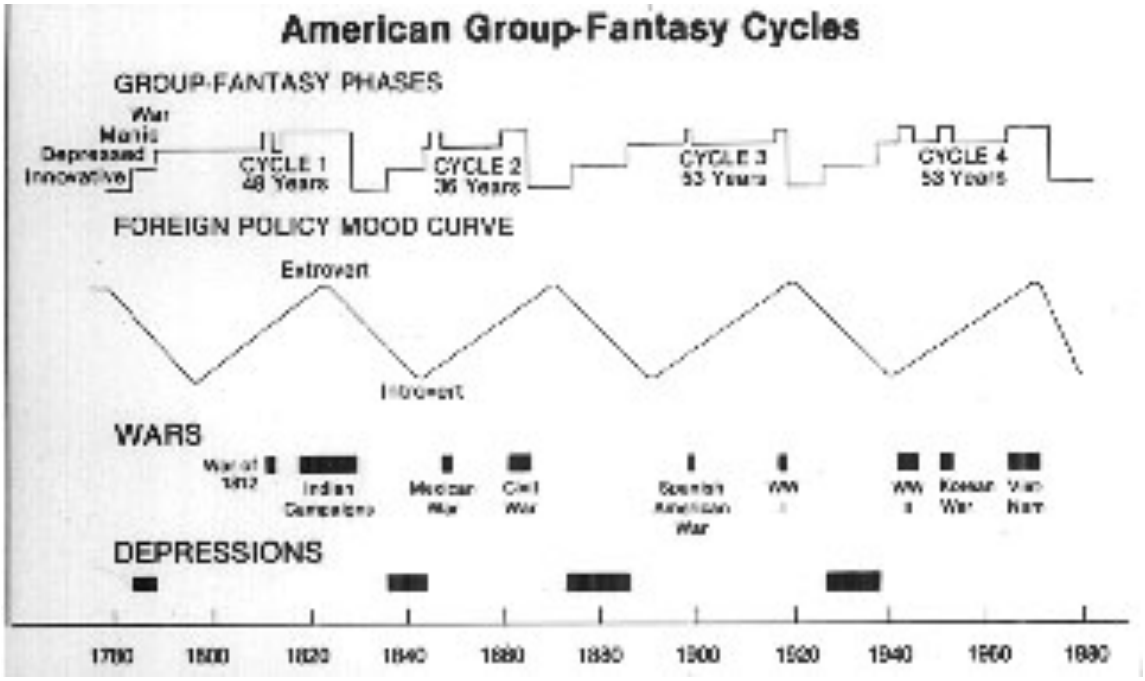
Prosperity leads to starting wars most often in societies where the economic advances of a minority, a more advanced psychoclass, outrun the childrearing evolution of the majority, producing in the less advanced psychoclasses extreme anxieties about changes that require individuation. Thus the most destructive wars have occurred in the twentieth century when there is a rapid "leap into modernity" by nations whose average childrearing lagged badly behind their social and economic progress–so that they tried to run modern capitalist systems with crippled human capital–while the most peaceful periods (for instance, Europe's "century of peace" from 1815 to 1914)[116] occurred while the childrearing of most Western European nations was most rapidly evolving and could keep up with the individuation challenges of modernity.[117]

WAR AND GROUP-FANTASY CYCLES

In Chapter 4 evidence was presented that wars most often occur after leaders have been in office for some time and are seen as weakening in their ability to be in control of national group-fantasies. Thus, the longer the leader is in office, the more likely he will be to take the nation to war. This is confirmed in the case of the United States, where no president has gone to war during his first year, his "strong" phase; where smaller wars sometimes begin in the second and third year of office, as the president weakens; and where its three most destructive wars–the Civil War and the two World Wars, with their hundreds of thousands of American battle fatalities–occurred at the end of 45, 48 and 103 months of the terms of Buchanan, Wilson and FDR, after their group-fantasy strength had collapsed.

Much empirical work has been done on the historical study of war cycles.[118] A cycle of about 25 years in the level of violence for most nations in recent centuries has been determined,[119] as though each new generation must be thrown into the mouth of Moloch as a purification sacrifice. There has also been considerable work done on economic cycles and their close relationship to war cycles,[120] with the finding that "wars between great powers occur during periods of economic expansion, while stagnation hinders their outbreak [so that] after 1815 no wars have been started during a depression."[121] Furthermore, "fatalities follow the pattern of [economic] upswings and downswings perfectly…the average annual fatality rate was…21 times higher on upswings than downswings."[122] Thus, although wars have been confirmed to be the results of prosperity, it is because no psychological analysis has ever been attempted that scholars have had to admit, "We do not understand the causal dynamics of the long wave…encompassing political and economic elements."[123] In the remainder of this chapter we will present a psychogenic theory of group-fantasy cycles that will explain this periodic alternation between economic depressions and wars.

In the chart below, four American group-fantasy cycles have been drawn for the past two centuries of American history, each consisting of four phases: (1) Innovative, (2) Depressed, (3) Manic and (4) War. At the bottom of the chart are listed the major depressions and wars, which coincide with the second and fourth phases of group-fantasy. In the middle of the chart is drawn Klingberg's extrovert-introvert Foreign Policy Mood Curve, which he compiled by counting such foreign policy indices



6:1 American Group-Fantasy Cycles

as the proportion of presidential speeches given over to positive action needed in world affairs.[124] As can be seen, there is a close correlation between Klingberg's mood index stages and my independently-derived group-fantasy phases.

An outline of the four group-fantasy phases is shown below. Empirical verification follows on each point in the outline, stressing American and other national group-fantasies and its resulting political and economic behavior. Then the four phases are followed in detail at the end of the chapter for German childrearing around 1900 and its restaging in the four phases of group-fantasy from the Weimar Republic to World War II and the Holocaust.

Group-Fantasy Phases

1. Innovative Phase:

A new psychoclass comes of age after the previous war, a minority of the cohort born two to three decades earlier and raised with more evolved childrearing modes. This new psychoclass introduces new inventions, new social and economic arrangements and new freedoms for women and minorities, producing an "Era of Good Feelings," a "Gilded Age" that for a few years is tolerated even by the earlier psychoclasses. By the end of the Innovative Phase, however, the challenges produced by progress and individuation begin to make everything seem to be "getting out of control" as wishes surface into consciousness that threaten to revive early maternal rejection and punishment. In addition, as women, children and minorities get new freedoms, older psychoclasses find they cannot be used as much as they previously had been as poison containers who can be punished for one's sins. Purity Crusades begin, anti-modernity movements demanding that new sexual and other freedoms be ended to reduce the anxieties of the nation's growth panic and "turn back the clock" to more controlled times and social arrangements.

2. Depressed Phase:

The older psychoclasses become depressed because of their new individuation challenges, expecting punishment for them, and produce an economic depression by withdrawing money from circulation, by raising interest rates, by reducing consumption, by limiting trade and by making all the other surplus-reducing motivated "mistakes" in fiscal policies that are so familiar in economic history. Economic depressions are motivated internal sacrifices which often kill more people than wars do.[125] Cartoons prior to and during depressions often show sinful, greedy people being sacrificed on altars,[126] and the depressed nation becomes paralyzed politically, unable to take action to reverse the economic downturn. Just as depressed individuals experience little conscious anger–feeling they "deserve to be punished"–so too nations in depressions are characterized by "introverted" foreign policy moods, start fewer military expeditions and are less concerned with foreign affairs. The feeling during depressions is "I should be killed" for my wishes rather than "I want to kill others." Depressions are economic anorexias, where people starve themselves to avoid being eaten up by the Dragon Mother, the maternal vulture of infancy. The nation begins to look for a Phallic Leader with whom they can merge and regain their failed potency and who can protect them against their growing delusional fears of a persecutory mommy.

3. Manic Phase:

As eventual economic recovery threatens fresh anxiety, manic economic, social and military activity builds up as a defense against depressive anxieties, as the nation engages in speculative investment, credit explosions, foreign belligerence, military buildups and other grandiose, hypergenital attempts to demonstrate omnipotent control of symbolic love supplies. Apocalyptic group-fantasies of a world full of evil and a God who is furious and about to end it all proliferate, producing severe growth panics such as the American "Great Awakenings" that occurred in manic periods prior to wars. Continued prosperity leads to a search for poison containers, both internal (minorities, criminals, children) and external (foreign enemies), who can be punished in national Purity Crusades as Bad Boys who embody the nation's sinful greed. Maternal engulfment fears increase as grandiose defenses and memories of being a helpless baby return, so people imagine their nations as "pitiful, helpless giants," with gigantic needs, but helpless to satisfy them. As paranoid delusional enemies seem to surround the nation, sacrificial rebirth group-fantasies appear, complete with devouring placental sea monsters, picturing violence as the only antidote to growing fears of disintegration of self.[127]

4. War Phase:

When another nation is found that agrees to provide the humiliation episode needed as a *casus belli*, a tremendous relief is felt of "Aha! I *knew* the enemy was real and not just in my head." The group-psychotic insight that diabolical enemies are strangling and poisoning one's nation forces a final complete switch into the social trance wherein group-fantasy becomes reality, goals disappear and violent action becomes irresistible as early traumas are restaged.[128] The neurotransmitters, hormones and neuropeptides of the nation change dramatically, in the same manner as the neurochemistry of individuals changes as they move toward violence.[129] War provides the opportunity for both righteous rape and purification. The *righteous rape* can be described as both maternal (Mother England) and homosexual (the soldiers)–in fact, war is overwhelmingly a homosexual perversion, since men leave their female partners and go abroad and stick things into other men's bodies. The *purification* accomplishes the sacrifice of the Bad Boy self, both through the suicidal part of war, killing the nation's own youth as sacrifice of soldiers, and the homicidal part, killing the enemy, each representing Bad Boy selves that must be wiped out so the mommy-nation can finally love the "real" self.

Thus wars and depressions can be seen as classically occurring in cycles similar to individual manic-depressive cycles of violence, only stretched out into periods of approximately one full generation in length. Each of the first three American group-fantasy cycles in the chart above is approximately 50 years long and ends with two wars, first usually a "nice little war" as a sort of trial balloon and then a full-fledged war that produces the rebirth of national virility. This pattern was partially broken after WWII–when improving childrearing reduced the size of both economic downturns and wars–and since when there has been a shorter cycle of group-fantasies, wars and recessions (see discussion at the end of this chapter). Although most Western nations in the past three centuries have had the same "four wars a century" pattern as the United States, whether they also have followed the same four-stage group-fantasy cycle has yet to be investigated.[130]

THE INNOVATIVE PHASE: PROGRESS AND PURITY CRUSADES

The central force for change in economic life is the result of earlier changes in childrearing

among a minority of the society. The usual causal chain of modernization theory–that more prosperity means more money for improving childrearing–is simply backward, both because empirically childrearing change always precedes economic change[131] and because the richest families traditionally have not given more to their children, they have routinely sent them out at birth to abusive caretakers. Those children whose parents actually bring them up themselves and try to surpass traditional childcare practices grow up as a new, innovative psychoclass that tries the new social and economic ventures which soon appear dangerous to the earlier psychoclasses.

The innovative phases in the chart of American group-fantasies above are familiar to every student of American history as periods of unparalleled growth and technological invention. They contain the early growth of steamboats, railroads and telegraphs; the two phases of the nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution with its rapid industrialization and immigration; the Second Industrial Revolution after World War I; and even the computer revolution produced by the Spock generation.[132] These were times when not only was national income soaring and work hours dropping, but "there was a tacit or explicit consensus between employers and labour organizations to keep labour demands within limits that did not eat into the profits, and the future prospects of profits high enough to justify the huge investments without which the spectacular growth of Golden Age labour productivity could not have taken place."[133] Thus investment in children paid off in investment in productivity.

During these innovative phases, governments manage to work out various formal and informal rules to settle international disagreements. Since peace is not just an absence of war and involves establishing intergovernmental organizations and conferences to resolve disputes, nations that are not in an emotional state of collapsed self-esteem have regularly found ways even without an overarching international government to break stalemates and settle their disagreements without violence.[134] Whether by bilateral agreement or through the restraints of peace conferences, innovative psychoclasses have demonstrated that there are many ways–such as buffer states, compensation and concerts of power–whereby issues can be resolved outside of power politics that lead to wars.

Each of these innovative phases also were periods of women's rights, the best-known of which in America were the early nineteenth-century groups pressing for women's education, jobs, new divorce laws and property rights; the post-Civil War Woman's Sufferage Movement; the post-WWI women's rights movement; and the post-Vietnam War feminist movement. The earlier psychoclasses–both men and women–reacted to these freedoms for "the new women" with extreme horror.[135] Just as the economic advances of early modern Europe resulted in a million women killed as witches, the progress of the modern innovative periods engendered fears of the *femme fatale* phallic females[136] –a restaging of the early Terrifying Mothers–who were "strongly passionate and…endowed with strong animal natures"[137] –who produced "sexual anarchy" where "men became women [and] women became men."[138] Ever since Cato wailed in 195 B.C., after a few Roman women sought to repeal a law that forbade them from wearing multicolored dresses, that "women have become so powerful that our independence has been lost in our own homes and is now being trampled and stamped underfoot in public,"[139] innovative periods in history have produced anti-women Purity Crusades designed to reverse social progress and return to more familiar repressive times.[140]

Purity Crusades have, of course, centered on sexual morality, whether they combated Noyes' "free love" debates before the Civil War or Margaret Sanger's birth control ideas in the 1920s.[141] They include "moral reform" crusades against prostitution, against pornography, against alcohol–against everything that represented unfulfilled wishes, including even bicycle seats, that "might cause women's moral downfall."[142] Even the reduction of the work week–the Saturday Half-Holiday Act of 1887– was opposed as likely to cause the masses to turn to "dancing, carousing, low behavior, rioting, shooting, and murder."[143] Children's rights were opposed because any relaxation of punitive childrearing would inevitably lead to "running wild, blatant disobedience…masturbation and insanity"[144] and since children are "made monsters in life by indulgence in infancy" if given the slightest independence wouth would go "*directly* to the grog shop, the gambling house or the brothel."[145] Cars for women were opposed because they could be turned into "houses of prostitution on wheels."[146] And whenever the Purity Crusade began, it usually continued right into the next war, which borrowed its language and moral fervor, so that it seemed the war itself was a purification of the nation. Thus purity reformers of the 1850s, reacting to the feminism of the time, began a crusade against sex between Southern white men and black women, objecting to slavery not so much on behalf of the rights of the slaves but in order "to protect the sexual purity of America." In the words of purity crusaders, "The Southern states are one Great Sodom…a vast brothel" which only a war between the North and the South could clean up.[147] Thus, too, World War I was said to have been needed to be fought "to save men from moral decay [from homosexuality]"[148] and the Vietnam War was accompanied by a fantasy that, according to Time's special issue on "SEX IN THE U.S.," found a dangerous "demise of Puritanism" in America due to "Freudian psychology" that had made "America one big Orgone Box [of] pornography."[149] Eventually, all Purity Crusades move abroad and punish our desires in living enemies.

THE DEPRESSED PHASE: THE DRAGON MOTHER AND THE PHALLIC LEADER

The task of controlling growth panic by depressions is given during the modern period mainly to central banks, which first flood the nation with low interest liquidity to encourage overinvestment, excess borrowing, inflation and stock market bubbles, and then, when the expansion becomes too sinful for the national psyche, reverse the monetary expansion by increasing interest rates and reducing liquidity ("Taking away the punch bowl when the party gets going.")[150] Depressions come because really people become *depressed*, reducing their spending and investment, and feel *hopeless*. Depressions are, as Keynes said, "a crises of sentiment…a collapse of confidence."[151] The task of government, according to Keynes, was to recognize that demand (desire) is subject to irrational contractions which had to be offset through fiscal and monetary manipulations–rather like a psychiatrist prescribing medications to change serotonin levels. Yet neither Keynes nor any other economist asked why people periodically become depressed and reduce their activities.

In fact, nations enter into depressions because they feel persecuted for their prosperity and individuation by what Jungians have termed the "Dragon Mother"–the needy, "devouring mother of infancy…who cannot let her children go because she needs them for her own psychic survival."[152]Weston has found anorexics in particular are dominated by fantasies of persecution by the Dragon Mother, who "gives her child the impossible task of filling her 'limitless void"' so the child fears being "eaten alive."[153] To prevent this, when these children grow up and try to individuate, they *refuse to eat* so they won't have any flesh on them for the Dragon Mother to

devour. Economic depressions evidence similar group-fantasies of devouring mommies; they are "economic anorexias" where nations inflict economic wounds upon themselves to *limit consumption*, become "all bones" and not tempt the devouring Dragon Mother. Banks, in particular, are often pictured as greedy dragons. For instance, President Jackson imagined the Bank of the United States was what he called the "Mother Bank" that by issuing paper money was a "bad mother dominating her children" who had to be stopped before the nation was eaten up, and so conducted a "kill the Great Monster" campaign that would "strangle the many-headed hydra" and kill it.[154] Needless to say, his success in "crushing the Mother Bank dragon" led to an economic downturn.

That depressions purposefully punish families is rarely acknowledged. In the depression beginning in 1873, for instance, produced by "a decade of speculative excess and overinvestment,"[155] there was "20 percent unemployed, 40 percent worked for only six or seven months a year, and only 20 percent worked regularly."[156] Depressions have killed hundreds of thousands of women and children, a sacrifice of Bad Children greater than many wars. Yet depressions are still seen as "beneficial purges" of the economic bloodstream; as the Treasury Secretary said in 1929 as the Federal Reserve helped push the world into depression, "It will purge the rottenness out of the system."[157] Depressions are indeed blood purges, only sacrificial, similar to the practice of the Aztecs sacrificing humans and regularly drawing blood from their thighs and genitals to "feed" the goddess to prevent her from becoming angry with them for their sinful prosperity.[158] Thus William K. Joseph's study of cartoons and ads during 1929 found they were "full of strong, wealthy women, but the men were pictured as puny, neurotic, and insignificant."[159]

That depressions–like anorexia and like all blood sacrifices–are self-inflicted wounds and not just the results of "mysteriously wrongheaded monetary policies"[160] is still not admitted by most economists. The end of prosperity comes "with a sense of relief."[161] Even the "mistakes" by authorities that lead to a downturn are unconsciously motivated: for instance, the "mistake" of the Federal Reserve in 1925 in lowering interest rates and igniting the stock market bubble, followed by the "mistake" of their overly restrictive monetary policy after 1929 that reduced the stock of money by a third and turned the downturn into a severe depression, plus the "mistaken" higher tariffs of the Hoover administration and the "mistaken" budget-balancing of the Roosevelt administration,[162] all were determined by the nation's sacrificial group-fantasy of a devouring Dragon Mother who needed to be placated.

One of the best defenses against fears of maternal engulfment is merging with a Phallic Leader to restore potency. Anzieu found small groups regularly searched for a narcissistic, aggressive leader when they felt that "everything is crumbling" in the group.[163] Parin found the Anyi tribe he studied, where the mothering was neglectful and incestuous, produced men who feared being "poisoned, devoured and castrated by women" and who chose exceptionally violent leaders because they felt that "the preoedipal mother is more dangerous than the oedipal father," and merging with a "strong and severe father" saved them from feeling castrated.[164] And Blum found that when nations choose "hypnotic-like surrender to the leader," they overcome "infantile helplessness and weakness, childhood traumata, child abuse and neglect and feelings of being unloved [through] an escalation to war [whereby] the sacrifice of the sons in battle by their oedipal fathers and a 'macho' defense against femininity are powerful dynamics."[165]

The initial task of the Phallic Leader is to "make real" the growing paranoia of the nation:

It is as if a therapist said to the paranoid-schizoid patient, "You really are being persecuted. Let me help you by naming your persecutors…you and your true friends can fight the persecutors and praise each other's righteousness, which will help you realize that the source of aggression and evil is out there, in the real world. And you thought it was all in your head!"[166]

The most effective Phallic Leaders have been found to be "narcissistic personalities who are characterized by intense self-involvement [whose] interpersonal relations are frequently marked by a lack of empathy, [who] oscillate between feelings of grandiosity and omnipotence…and feelings of inferiority and low self-esteem [and who] are particularly susceptible to feelings of shame and humiliation."[167] Only narcissistic leaders who from early childhood have felt shamed and humiliated could, like Richard Nixon, lead wars that had no other purpose than to avoid accepting "a national humiliation [that would] destroy our country's confidence in itself."[168] The deep well of loneliness created in them by the emotional distancing of their mothers is usually worsened by the absence of their fathers, which has been found by Broude to result in hypermasculinity and violence.[169]The loneliness leads them to volunteer as delegates to lead large masses of people out of their depression through "macho" politics. Conquering women and conquering nations are one for the Phallic Leader.[170] It is no coincidence that virtually all of America's wartime presidents were adulterers or compulsive womanizers.[171] Conquest is the political function of the Phallic Leader. As Hitler put it, "The crowd is a woman…after a speech I feel as if I had a sexual release."[172] Dominance and violence restores and purifies the self. As Hitler said after the Röhm massacre, "So! Now I have taken a bath, and feel clean as a new-born babe again."[173]

Thus a Phallic Leader wards off the humiliations of maternal abuse and neglect by political violence. Lyndon Johnson, for instance, remembers his engulfing mother's withdrawal of affection whenever he failed to do as she wished, "walking around the house pretending I was dead [and] refusing to speak or even look at [me]."[174] As a result, he had a recurring dream that a stampede of cattle–a symbol of maternal engulfment[175] –was coming toward him while he was paralyzed in a chair, and that he cried out for his mother, but no one came.[176] His fear of helplessness and humiliation returned just before Vietnam, when, he said, "I felt that I was being chased on all sides by a giant stampede coming at me…the American people were stampeding me to do something about Vietnam…I deserved something more than being left alone in the middle of the plain, chased by stampedes on every side."[177] According to his biographer, he "avoided at all costs the threat to his self-esteem that…public humiliation might entail"[178] and started the war. The war restored his and the nation's masculinity: "unzipping his fly, [Johnson] pulled out his penis and asked the reporters (according to one who was there), 'Has Ho Chi Minh got anything to match that?'"[179] The war castrated the "enemy," not Johnson: "I didn't just screw Ho Chi Minh. I cut his pecker off."[180] Those who opposed the war were women: "[They have] to squat to piss."[181] Going to war meant not being a woman, not being overwhelmed by mommy.

Merging with a Phallic Leader involves switching into the dissociated hemisphere and entering into the social trance. Atlas has shown that political trances derive their power not from any magical "charismatic" qualities of the leader but from the correlation between adult hypnotizability and abusive childrearing.[182] The Phallic Leader, like a shaman, is adept at entering

into trance states himself–Hitler often called himself "a sleepwalker." Political meetings are easily seen as altered states of consciousness. A journalist reports getting "caught in a mob of ten thousand hysterics who jammed the moat in front of Hitler's hotel shouting, 'We want our Führer!' I was a little shocked at the faces, especially those of the women…They reminded me of the crazed expressions I saw once in the back country of Louisiana on the faces of some Holy Rollers…They looked up at him as if he were a Messiah, their faces transformed."[183] Switching into their social alter gave them a shot of dopaminergic power, exactly the same as taking amphetamines, that made them feel merged with both the Phallic Leader and the group, the nation, the *Volk*. Fichte described this merging as he felt it take hold of him:

When I thought of the Volk and saw it, and when the great feeling of it gripped me, …when a great crowd moves before me, when a band of warriors passes before me with flowing banners…I feel the indestructible life, the eternal spirit, and the eternal God…I am immediately freed from all sins. I am no longer a single suffering man, I am one with the Volk…[184]

Because nations continue to live in both their hemispheres as they go to war, they must both prepare for war by maneuvering an enemy into a pose where they can be righteously attacked, and at the same time provide deniability that their nation is really responsible for the war. Leaders might recognize, as Theodore Roosevelt wrote to a friend in 1897, that "In strict confidence…I should welcome almost any war, for I think this country needs one."[185] But Phallic Leaders usually find ways to invent "unprovoked attacks," from Wilson's lies about the sinking of the *Lusitania* and LBJ's lies about the attack in the Gulf of Tonkin to Hitler's lies about an attack by Polish forces. One of the most complex lies that carefully provoked an attack that was then pretended to be a surprise was that of President Franklin Roosevelt's year-long actions to get Japan to attack Pearl Harbor. Stinnett's voluminously-documented book, *Day of Deceit*, demonstrates that in October of 1940 FDR secretly began to carry out a series of eight actions that forced the hawks among the Japanese government to go to war with the U.S., embargoing trade, "tightening the noose" on their economy and deploying American warships on "pop-up" cruises within the territorial waters of Japan, then purposely leaving the U.S. fleet unprotected at Hawaii and hiding the fact that Japanese codes had been broken so that the attack would be a "surprise."[186] If FDR hadn't provoked his unnecesary war with Japan, American military strength would have been fully available for fighting Germany years earlier, and the Holocaust may not have been as disasterous.

A typical case of provoking an enemy can be shown for the actions of John F. Kennedy in the Cuban Missile Crisis, which we earlier187 examined briefly. JFK's childhood was typically abusive, dominated by his mother's emotional distancing of him–"She was never there when we really needed her…[She] never really held me and hugged me. Never."–and her brutality, battering John with "hairbrushes, coat hangers, belts and shoes [and] once slapping young Bobby's face so viciously that she punctured his eardrum and split his lip."188 The result in JFK was a phallic-narcissistic personality focused on conquering women in "daily assignations and a lifetime of venereal disease [and] a steady diet of mood-altering drugs."189 Claiming a mythical "missile gap" with the Russians, Kennedy was elected President to "get America moving again" after the peaceful Eisenhower Fifties, and soon authorized the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba over the objections of most experts who said it would fail, telling his aides he "wasn't going to be 'chicken.'"190 The resulting failure was taken by him as a personal humiliation, for which he

needed revenge. He authorized Operation Mongoose, various assassination attempts against Castro, including using the Mafia, but success evaded him.191

By 1962, Kennedy decided to regain his potency by invading Cuba with U.S. forces. He told the military to prepare for a U.S. invasion of the island and asked his staff to formulate a pretext that would give an appearance of a Cuban attack on a U.S. airline that would justify it.[192] But war with a small neighbor would not be enough; Kennedy moved to make certain the Russians would be involved in the war. On January 31, 1962, he asked Khrushchev's son-in-law, Aleksei Adzhubei, to meet with him and, in order to humiliate the Russians as he felt humiliated, told him he was preparing to attack Cuba like Russia attacked Hungary: "If I run for re-election and the Cuban question remains as it is," he said, "we will have to do something" about Cuba. Kennedy told a startled Adzhubei, "I called Allen Dulles into my office [after the Bay of Pigs] and dressed him down. I told him: 'You should learn a lesson from the Russians. When they had difficulties in Hungary, they liquidated the conflict in three days [by sending in troops.]'" Adzhubei repeated this to Khrushchev, who told Soviet diplomats: "An attack on Cuba is being prepared. And the only way to save Cuba is to put missiles there."

In April 1962, 40,000 American troops began practicing invading Cuba in North Carolina,[193] and by October 6, 1962, thousands of American troops were positioned for invasion, along with plans and equipment, prepared to invade on October 20, 1962, using the Bahamas as an invasion base camp. But on October 16, 1962, the CIA took clear U-2 photos that told them Russian nuclear missiles were in Cuba. Kennedy told no one of his own bellicose actions and threats, instead declaring the Russian move wholly unprovoked. Despite the fact that 100 million Americans lay in the range of the Russian missiles–and despite the opinion of his staff that they made no military difference at all because nuclear missiles on Russian submarines had long been stationed a few miles off Cuba–Kennedy instituted a naval embargo and prepared for a full-scale attack on Cuba, risking a nuclear World War III. Saying "If Khrushchev wants to rub my nose in the dirt, it's all over"[194] and "we must not look to the world as if we were backing down,"[195] Kennedy fully expected war. When his staff told him there were diplomatic means which could be used to remove the missiles, he replied, "The object is not to stop offensive weapons, because the offensive weapons are already there, as much as it is to have a showdown with the Russians of one kind or another."[196] Since Kennedy had already publicly declared the U.S. was "prepared to use nuclear weapons at the start" of any war,[197] Kennedy's embargo and invasion would mean nuclear war if the Russians didn't accept the humiliation and back down, "one hell of a gamble," as Kennedy put it.[198] Luckily for mankind, Khrushchev backed down, was removed from office because of the humiliation and America was rescued from its self-inflicted humiliations. For his role in hiding the real cause of the near-apocalyptic actions, President Kennedy remains universally seen as one of America's greatest Presidents…because he "kept his head" during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

THE MANIC PHASE: EGO DISINTEGRATION AND PARANOIA

Nations engage in manic economic and political projects for the same reasons newly successful rock stars go to all-night parties and take drugs–to get a "dopamine rush" that counters the depression and guilt about their success. Political paranoia and slow ego disintegration are now seen in conspiratorial group-fantasies, fears of femininity and imaginary humiliations by other nations. These are countered in the economic sphere by manic overinvestment, risky ventures,

excess money supply growth, soaring debt and stock market speculations, and in the political sphere by jingoistic nationalism, expansionist ventures, military buildups and belligerent, insulting foreign affair behavior. As in drug addiction, each dopamine rush leaves a dopamine hangover that requires an even larger manic activity to overcome the resulting depression. Purity Crusades multiply as anti-modern and anti-child (Bad Boy) movements. Fears of "becoming feminine" (desires to merge with mommy) are countered by persecution of homosexuals. A search for external enemies results from the growing ego disintegration, as grandiosity fails and Poison Alerts and sacrificial group-fantasies proliferate.

In America, these paranoid fears of apocalyptic punishment for success have taken the form of revivalist Great Awakenings, which occurred at the end of long period of peace: the First after 24 years of peace (1714-38) under the Georges, the Second after 30 years of peace (1815-45) under Madison and Monroe, and the Third after 31 years of peace (1866-97) following the Civil War. These apocalyptic fantasies of fears of how furious God (Mommy) was because of mankind's sinfulness merge into the war movements that follow. The American Revolution has been said to have been "caused by a pandemic of persecutory delusions" featuring "a fear of effeminacy"[199] and a fantasy of "Mother England persecuting her children."[200] Similarly, beginning with the *Annus Mirabilis* of 1858, daily gatherings of thousands of people in spontaneous prayer meetings took place, where people fell down, saw visions and went out and destroyed their goods in preparation for the end of the world.[201] This apocalyptic mood lasted and merged with the "cleansing in the fires of war" that would "purge the virus" of the nation in Civil War bloodshed that was "sacramental, erotic, mystical, and strangely gratifying."[202] All these apocalyptic group-fantasies were caused by the growth panic of a period of prosperity–exactly the opposite cause from Barkun's theory of millenarian movements being produced by "deprivation" and "natural catastrophes."[203]

Perhaps the classic era of paranoid fears leading to apocalyptic group-fantasies as punishment for prosperity is the period before World War I–when the world growth rate jumped to over five percent, and when Europe appeared to be going clinically paranoid from "the decadence of the times [when] no more rank, titles, or race [meant] all is mixed, confused, and blurred [and] the end of the world seemed nigh."[204] Prosperity and the beginnings of liberal reforms produced widespread growth panic that decried "the decline of religiosity, the disintegration of the patriarchal family, and the decline of respect for authority."[205] Fears of "becoming feminine" proliferated, along with campaigns against homosexuals. Goethe's Werther (Goethe: "Anything in the world can be endured, except a series of wonderful days")[206] was revived during the late nineteenth century as thousands of Germans committed suicide during their rising prosperity, climaxed eventually by all of Europe going to war and committing suicide. At the end of the nineteenth century, books like *The World's End Soon* pictured the degeneration and apocalyptic demise of Europe and feminine blood-sucking vampires derived from representations of the New Woman as an "oversexed wife who threatened her husband's life with her insatiable erotic demands"[207] flooded the popular literature. Artists featured vampires devouring helpless men,[208] and invented modern art as "a pervasive vision of Fragmentation" showing "everything disintegrated into parts…whirlpools [that] led into the void."[209] H. G. Wells wrote a book in 1913, *The World Set Free*, that predicted an apocalyptic war using radioactive "atomic bombs" that would nearly destroy the world and lead to the eternal peace.[210] Objective journalists wondered if "Europe was about to become a gigantic madhouse."[211] Nations felt they had to

defend themselves against their growing paranoid delusions. "That the English are merely waiting for a chance to fall upon us is clear," declared the German Chancellor.[212] Only starting a "preventive war" could save the nation.[213] "I believe a war to be unavoidable and the sooner the better," said the German Chief of Staff.[214] Europe was swept up in "a terrible readiness, indeed a thirst, for what Yeats was to call the 'blood-dimmed tide'…fascinated by the prospect of a purging fire."[215] Going to war would prevent engulfment by the Terrifying Mommy, would avoid effeminacy and restore potency, and would purge the national arteries with a good bloodletting that would purge the polluting prosperity,[216] teach the Terrifying Mommy enemy a lesson and sacrifice the sinful Bad Boy so mommy would finally love the Good Boy self who remained.

6:2 A Man Escapes Engulfment by Sexual Women by Going Off to War
Max Slevogt, "The Knight" (1903)

WAR PHASE: RIGHTEOUS RAPE OF MOTHER SUBSTITUTES Even though wars are supposed to be fought between men, they have equally affected women and children. In most wars, more civilians are killed than soldiers, and, according to UNICEF, "in the wars fought since World War II 90 percent of all victims are found in the civilian population, a large share of them women and children."[217] In our imaginations, however, wars are *mainly*about women and children. Divine wars were always fought for a goddess of war, from Ishtar to Teshub, almost always mothers of the war heroes,[218] "crying to be fed…human blood."[219] Even the Hebrew Lord counsels Moses to "kill every male among the little ones and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him. But all the virgin girls keep alive for yourselves [to rape]."[220] Yanomamo war raids might kill a few men in raids, but would abduct all enemy women and rape them.[221] Child murder and rape were the center of ancient war. The Greeks often used to rape all virgin girls and boys in wars and often trod all children of a city to death under the feet of oxen or covered them with pitch and burned them alive.[222] As van Creveld puts it, "During most of history, the opportunity to engage in wholesale rape was not just among the rewards of successful war but, from the soldier's point of view, one of the cardinal objectives for which he fought."[223]

Socarides describes the function of sexual sadism as

Forces and extracts love; destroys the threatening body of the mother rather than be destroyed by her discharges, aggressive impulses that threaten annihilation of the self even to the point of

sexual murder; achieves temporary freedom from fear of the engulfing mother…reassures against and lessens castration fear; cancels out separation anxiety.[224]

Clinical studies of rapists find it a result of extreme childhood neglect and abuse, continuous shaming and humiliation–and often even of actual sexual abuse as a child.[225] The rapist's fantasies center around control and dominance, and the actual rape is often triggered by "flashbacks" to earlier humiliations that had to be restaged in sexual violence, where "my life would flash in front of my mind…so I went out looking for a victim."[226]Rape is a "pseudosexual act," first done for violence and revenge, then sexualized: "I wanted to knock the woman off her pedestal, and I felt rape was the worst thing I could do to her," said one serial rapist.[227] Much of the time the rapist cannot even orgasm, but this doesn't matter because he has defiled, degraded and humiliated the woman: "After the assault I felt relieved. I felt I had gotten even. There was no sexual satisfaction; in fact, I felt a little disgusted."[228] Sex may be the weapon, but revenge is the motive.

Rape fantasies are extremely widespread; in America, a third of all men regularly fantasize about raping women during masturbation or intercourse,[229] while in a country like Yugoslavia–where earlier historical childrearing practices are still prevalent in the *zadruga* so that the rape of children is routine–adult male rape fantasies are so strong that rape is a common, everyday part of life even in peacetime.[230] Before wars, humiliation group-fantasies proliferate, as nations spend more and more time trading gratuitous insults, complaining about being humiliated and pushed around by others, and worrying about not receiving the recognition due them,[231] all flashbacks to early shame and neglect. The unrequited love for the mother is reexperienced in "rejected overtures" with other nations. Hitler, for instance, clearly explained his reasons for starting WWII as arising out of rejected maternal love:

I have repeatedly offered England our friendship, and if necessary closest co-operation. Love, however, is not a one-sided affair, but must be responded to by the other side….I do not want to conquer her. I want to come to terms with her. I want to force her to accept my friendship…[232]

The war that began as rape to win love ended as rape to win love. When the war was nearly over, sitting in his bunker in 1945, Hitler justified his rape of Europe as necessary because, he said,

It could not be conquered by charm and persuasiveness. I had to rape it in order to have it.[233]

In a world full of humiliating, rejecting, provocative motherlands, neighboring countries seem to be "just asking to be raped." Group-fantasies of wanting to "explode into her" to "penetrate her life" and avenge her for "turning down our overtures" in order to "knock her off her throne" and "teach her a lesson she won't forget" begin to be expressed in diplomacy, political cartoons and in the media.[234] Hypermasculinity begins

6:3 Fears of Rape Were Overt in Slovenia Before Serbia Attacked Them in 1991[235]

to infect the nation's mood with the need for "standing tall" and "displaying our firmness" with a "stiffening of the national will." Newspapers headline rape fantasies to goad leaders into war; as the British tabloids screamed out before the Falkland invasion, "STICK IT UP YOUR JUNTA." Cartoons begin showing barbarian men in neighboring nations about to rape men's wives.[236] Leaders begin to express projections of rape in meetings, as when Lyndon Johnson excitedly asked before expanding the war in Vietnam, "how many times do I let a fiend rape my wife?"[237]

Finally, when the group-fantasies peak and action to "get some respect" is irresistible, war begins as "righteous rape" against any enemy that can be imagined to be a convenient humiliating mommy. War, gang rape and degradation of women merge into one. For instance, the Serbian attacks on its neighbors that followed the overt rape cartoons like the one above had "the degradation and molestation of women central to the conquest…women of sixty and girls under twelve being gang-raped, often in front of their relatives [while men] pushed bottle necks into our sex, even shattered, broken bottles…guns too…[as men screamed] 'I'll fuck your mother, all your mothers.'"[238] Wars usually begin as group-fantasies of mother-rape, revenges for earlier neglect and domination, righteous violence that will "teach her a lesson."

WAR PHASE: PURIFICATION OF BAD BOY SELF

But while war is seen as an way to avenge maternal mistreatment, it is also a merging with the Terrifying Mommy to wipe out the Bad Boy self whose fault it must be that mommy wasn't loving. The purification of mankind through the sacrifice of children to an avenging goddess was, of course, the practice of ancient societies like Carthage, where tens of thousands of jars have been found with charred bones of sacrificed children along with inscriptions saying they had been killed by their parents to cleanse their sinfulness.[239] The symbol of the warrior in Aztec society was a bleeding fetal war-god standing at the placental center of the city whose blood streamed out into the four quarters of the universe, feeding every citizens of the state.[240] In every war, young men march off essentially to commit suicide as heroic acts of sacrifice, "losing ourselves [in] ecstasy because we are conscious of a power outside us with which we can merge."[241] As one soldiers wrote during WWI, "Sacrificing oneself is a joy, the greatest joy…Never before has such a powerful desire for death and passion for sacrifice seized

mankind."[242] The Bad Boy self must die for the Good Boy self to be loved; therefore, blood must flow to renew the sinful nation: "The souls of nations are drinking renewal from the

6:4 Mother England Destroying Bad Boys

blood of the fallen soldiers."[243] Soldiers may sent back to their mothers dead, but they are wrapped in "living flags," maternal symbols, as though they had been reborn into new swaddling-clothes with a new chance to be loved.[244] A soldier "dies peacefully. He who has a Motherland dies in comfort…in her, like a baby falling asleep…"[245]

The ecstatic relief once war begins is felt because it is the *revanche supréme* for early abuse and because it promises to cleanse the self of sinfulness. However convinced people are as they begin wars that the "enemy" is outside themselves, they are in fact fighting *alters inside themselves*– raping Terrifying Mommies and killing Bad Boy selves. Nations "descend into visions of purgations and redemption" in a "holy war [to] cleanse our souls of the dross of selfish pettiness."[246] War is "the highest happiness that ordinary men can find,"[247] a "purifying thunderstorm"[248] that provides a chance to be "born again"[249] a "triumph of righteousness"[250] and a "magical restoration of potency."[251] "It is a joy to be alive," rejoiced a German paper in 1914.[252] "The heather is on fire. I never before knew what a popular excitement can be," wrote an American as the Civil War began, describing jubilant crowds "with flushed faces, wild eyes, screaming mouths."[253] At last, one could take revenge against the Terrifying Mommy, kill the Bad Boy self, be reborn and finally become pure and lovable, all in one splendid act of mass butchery.

THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR II AND THE HOLOCAUST

Historians and political scientists have proposed any number of causes for WWII and the Holocaust.[254] Unfortunately, detailed research has disproved every one of them. Goldhagen's claim that ordinary Germans had long held "exterminationist" antisemitic views[255] has been disproved by careful historical studies that showed Germany was "a safe haven in late-nineteenth-century Europe [where] when German Jews looked toward France, they saw the startling antisemitism unleashed by the Dreyfus Affair and when they looked eastward, they saw pogroms and thousands of Jews fleeing toward Germany's safer political climate."[256] The reason "why so many Jews failed to leave Germany [was] they really couldn't believe that this

Germany, which they loved [and] felt gratitude toward" would ever harm them.[257] In fact, earlier antisemitic movements in Germany were tiny, and "most historians believe that the Nazis had no deep roots in German history and that antisemitism in Germany was not essentially different from that of some other nations…"[258] Careful studies of Nazi party members have even found that most were not antisemitic when they joined; "most people were drawn to antisemitism because they were drawn to Nazism, not the other way around."[259] Kershaw's recent careful studies conclude "that antisemitism was not a major factor in attracting support for Hitler…"[260] As we shall shortly detail, what made Germans antisemitic was the anxieties of the manic period after the Great Depression had ended, later in the 1930s after Hitler gained power, and were not due some mysterious German gene for eliminationist politics.

All the other explanations for WWII and the Holocaust have been similarly disproved by recent historical research. Klaus Fischer's "no Hitler, no Holocaust,"[261] along with all the other studies blaming German violence on "obedience" to Hitler's "hypnotic eyes"[262] have been thrown out by the dozens of studies of the spontaneous, gratuitous violence engaged in by average Germans even when they could have easily opted out. "Only following orders" is simply a no longer considered a serious motivation for the war and genocide. What is, however, most widely accepted is that Germans were "under stress," voted Nazi and then turned to violence because of the Great Depression.

Numerous detailed studies of Nazi membership all disprove this "economic stress" argument. The "model Nazi party member" joined before the Depression, "his economic status was secure, for not once did he have to change his occupation, job, or residence, nor was he ever unemployed."[263] "The only group affected [by the Depression] were the workers…Yet paradoxically the workers remained steadfast in support of the [democratic] status quo while the middle class, only marginally hurt by the economic constriction, turned to revolution."[264] Most workers did not vote for the Nazis and of those who did, who "believed in Hitler the magician," most soon felt disappointed.[265] Hitler, in fact, admitted "economics was not very important to him [and] very few Germans had any information about what his economic program actually was."[266] Germans who became violent Nazis came primarily from authoritarian middle-class backgrounds, not from poverty; indeed, "those who grew up in poverty showed the least prejudice" in Merkl's study of Nazi stormtroopers.[267] The "stress" that triggered the war and genocide may have been related to economics, but it in fact came from renewed prosperity in the late 1930s, not to the economic collapse of 1929.

There is one psychological study based upon a developmental event in the early lives of Germans that is given some credulity by historians: the "Nazi Youth Cohort" thesis of Peter Loewenberg. This study claims that "the rapid political ascendance of the Nazi party (NSDAP) in the period from 1928 to 1933 was marked by a particularly strong support from youth" who were deprived of food during the 1917-1919 Allied embargo.[268] Citing low German birth weights and excess infant mortality during the period, Loewenberg feels this "single traumatic event" accounts for "the influx of German youth to the ranks of National Socialism, the political decline of the Weimar Republic, and the Nazi seizure of power."[269] The problem with this thesis is the figures don't add up. While Loewenberg cites the census of 1933 as showing 31 percent of Germans were "youthful," these figures in fact were for those *18 to 30* years of age.[270] Children born in 1917-18 were actually only 11-12 years of age in 1929 when the Nazis received their

most uncoerced votes. Even those up to 5 years of age during the embargo years would still be from 12-17 in 1929, too young to join the Nazi party. And in fact most German youth didn't join the Hitler Youth, which managed to attract only one percent of the young people belonging to religious and political youth organizations in 1932.[271] Therefore, the WWI famine, however severe, cannot be a main cause of the Nazi takeover,[272]since the average age of membership of the Nazi party was in fact over 31 years.[273]

THE SOURCES OF WWII AND THE HOLOCAUST IN GERMAN CHILDREARING

If German childrearing practices are not considered as the cause of German mass violence, there is no way to avoid Goldhagen's conclusion that the war and the Holocaust must be due to "something monstrously Germanic…at bottom unexplainable [and not] a product of human decisions."[274] But if German childhood around 1900 is recognized as a totalitarian nightmare of murder, neglect, battering and torture of innocent, helpless human beings, then the restaging of this nightmare four decades later in the Holocaust and war can be understood as explanatory.

Historians have avoided researching German childrearing at the end of the nineteenth century. The few that have begun to do the research have found German childhood uniformly more brutal than French and British childhood. A comparison by Maynes of 90 German and French autobiographies of late nineteenth-century working class childhoods found German far more brutal and unloving, with the typical memory of home being that "No bright moment, no sunbeam, no hint of a comfortable home where motherly love and care could shape my childhood was ever known to me."[275] In contrast, "French workers' autobiographies tell somewhat different childhood tales. To be sure, there are a few French accounts of childhoods marked by cruelty, neglect, and exploitation."[276] Yet "much more common are stories of surprisingly sentimental home loves and warm relationships with mothers (and often fathers), even in the face of material deprivation."[277] Maynes found unrelenting child labor, sexual molestation and beatings at home and at school were consistently worse in the German accounts.

Most of the research into primary sources on the history of German childrearing has been done by psychohistorians connected with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für psychohistorische Forschung, the German branch of The Institute for Psychohistory.[278] The two main studies covering nineteenth-century German childrearing were those published in *The Journal of Psychohistory* by Aurel Ende and Raffael Scheck; both found uniform cruelty and neglect in their detailed review of 154 German autobiographies studied. Child battering was so common in German families that Scheck concludes, "There is virtually no autobiography which doesn't tell something about violence against children and almost no author who has not been beaten as a child."[279] And Ende's massive study concludes that "nowhere in Western Europe are the needs of children so fatally neglected as in Germany," where "infant mortality, corporal punishment, cruelties against children, the exploitation of working children and the teacher-pupil relationship" were so brutal that he feels he has to apologize "for not dealing with the 'brighter side' of German childhood because it turns out that there is no 'bright side.'"[280]

Visitors to German homes at the end of the nineteenth century also found that in general "one feels sorry for these little German children; they must work so hard and seem to lack that exuberance of life, spirits, and childish glee that make American children harder to train but leave them the memory of a happy childhood."[281] In particular, visitors noted the German

preference for boys and their maltreatment of girls. Whereas in France and England beginning in the eighteenth century there was "an increasing appreciation of girl children," with parents often openly expressing their preference of having a girl,[282] in Germany even at the end of the nineteenth century girls were resented and uniformly neglected: "From childhood on, the lives these women led were exceedingly harsh…dominated by memories of paternal brutality or negligence…drunkenness and violence was a routine part of life [including] a father's incestuous advances…[and] abuse with sexual overtones at the hands of her mother…beatings and other forms of violent punishment."[283] Germany in general was historically far behind the rest of Western Europe in the education of girls and in woman's rights, so that innovative mothers and hopeful daughters were found far less than in other countries.[284]

German family maxims described the lack of love of mothers toward their children, saying tenderness was "generally not part of the mother's character…Just as she kept her children…short on food and clothing, she also was short on fondling and tenderness…[feeling] the children should…regard themselves as useless weeds and be grateful that they were tolerated."[285] Children were expected to give love to their parents, not the parents to their children: "We always appeared trembling before our parents, hoping that our official kiss of their hands would be accepted…"[286] One boy reported his mother once dropped a word of praise, saying to someone that "He is good and well-liked," so that the boy remembered it all his life "because the words were totally new sounds to my ear."[287] But kind words were rare in German homes, so most Germans remembered "no tender word, no caresses, only fear"[288] and childhood was "joyless," "so immeasurably sad that you could not fathom it."[289] Yet this hatred of children in German families was not something that they felt guilty about. German parents endlessly impressed upon the children their pride in their family atmosphere of hatred. "I don't want to be loved," said one typical father, "I want to be *feared*!"[290] Another father summed up his feelings about family discipline as follows:

It is good to hate. To hate is strong, manly. It makes the blood flow. It makes one alert. It is necessary for keeping up the fighting instincts. To love is feebleness. It enervates. You see all the nations that talk of love as the keynote of life are weak, degenerate. Germany is the most powerful nation in the world because she hates. When you hate, you eat well, sleep well, work well, fight well.[291]

GERMAN INFANTICIDE, WETNURSING AND SWADDLING OF INFANTS

Since German fathers at the end of the nineteenth century spent little time at home, childrearing was overwhelmingly the job of the mother: "The care and training of the children are almost entirely in her hands for the first five years."[292] The mother especially ruled the nursery and kitchen, where the children spent their time, and "she may actually exclude men from these restricted areas"[293] when they were at home. Thus, although most studies of the treatment of infants and young children in Germany stress the admitted brutality and authoritarianism of fathers, the real lives of young German children in the past centered more on their murder, rejection, neglect, tying up and beating by their mothers and other women.

Infanticide and infant mortality rates at the end of the nineteenth century were much higher in Germany and Austria than in England, France, Italy and Scandinavia.[294] Newborn were not considered in most areas as fully human since they not thought to have a soul until they were six

weeks old, and so could be "killed in a kind of late abortion."[295] Women giving birth often "had their babies in the privy, and treated the birth as an evacuation, an everyday event, and…carried on with their work."[296] Births which were "experienced as a bowel movement made it possible for the women [to] kill their children in a very crude way, by smashing their heads [like] poultry and small animals…"[297] Mothers who killed their newborn babies were observed by others as being without remorse, "full of indifference, coldness and callousness [and gave] the impression of a general impoverishment of feeling" toward her child.[298] Even if the infant was allowed to live, it could easily be neglected and not fed enough, and it would be made to "go straight to heaven." Infant mortality rates in Germany ranged from 21 percent in Prussia to an astonishing 58 percent in Bavaria during the latter part of the nineteenth century,[299] the figures in the south–the highest in Europe–being due to their practice of not breastfeeding,[300] since hand-fed babies died at a rate three times that of breast-fed babies.[301] The best figures for overall German infanticide at the end of the century were 20 percent, half again higher than France and England.[302]

Nineteenth-century doctors condemned the practice of German mothers refusing to breastfeed their babies, saying the pap made of flour and water or milk was "usually so thick that it has to be forced into the child and only becomes digestible when mixed with saliva and stomach fluids. At its worst it is curdled and sour."[303] Infants were so commonly hungry that "those poor worms get their mouths stuffed with a dirty rag containing chewed bread so that they cannot scream."[304] Ende reports that for centuries "One rarely encounters a German infant who is fully breastfed…Everywhere they got their mouths stuffed with *Zulp*, a small linen bag filled with bread…Swaddled babies could hardly get rid of these often dirty rags."[305] Mothers who could afford it sent their newborn to wetnurses–commonly called *Engelmacherin*, "angelmakers," because they were so negligent toward the children. The mothers complained, "Do you think I am a farmer's daughter, that I should bother myself with little children? That a woman of my age and standing should allow her very strength to be sucked dry by children?"[306] While English gentry began to nurse their infants themselves during the seventeenth century, the mothering revolution had not yet really reached Germany by the end of the nineteenth century.[307]Visitors who wrote books on German home life reported, "It is extremely rare for a German lady to nourish her own child,"[308] and "It would have been very astonishing indeed if a well-to-do mother had suggested suckling her own baby."[309] Almost all mothers who refused to breast-feed could have done so if they "seriously wanted to," according to a 1905 German medical conference.[310] Those who did not gave "completely trivial reasons," such as "because it is messy," because they "didn't want to ruin their figures" or because breastfeeding was "inconvenient.[311] Even after their children returned from wetnurse, "noble ladies showed not the slightest interest in their offspring"[312] and turned them over to nursemaids, governesses and tutors. The result was that parents were often strangers to their children. When one German father asked his child whom he loves the most and the child replied, "Hanne [his nurse]," the father objected, "No! You must love your parents more." "But it is not true!" the child replied. The father promptly beat him.[313]

Mothers and other caretakers of newborn German babies were so frightened of them that they tied them up tightly for from six to nine months and strapped them into a crib in a room with curtains drawn to keep out the lurking evils.[314] Two centuries after swaddling had disappeared in England and America, two British visitors described it as routine throughout Germany:

A German baby is a piteous object; it is pinioned and bound up like a mummy in yards of bandages…it is never bathed…Its head is never touched with soap and water until it is eight or ten months old, when the fine skull cap of encrusted dirt which it has by that time obtained is removed…[315]

In Germany, babies are loathsome, foetid things…offensive to the last degree with the excreta that are kept bound up within their swaddling clothes…the heads of the poor things are never washed, and are like the rind of Stilton cheese…[316]

When the children were finally removed from their swaddling bands after six to twelve months, other restraint devices such as corsets with steel stays and backboards continued their tied-up condition to assure the parents they were still in complete control.[317] The result of all this early restraint was the same production of later violence in children as that obtained by experimenters physically restraining rats and monkeys–marked by depletions of serotonin, increases in norepinephrine levels and massive increases in terror, rage and eventually actual violence.[318]

The fear of one's own children was so widespread in German families that for centuries autobiographies told of a tradition of abandonment of children by their parents to anyone who would take them, using the most flimsy of excuses.[319] Children were given away and even sometimes sold[320]to relatives, neighbors, courts, priests, foundling homes, schools, friends, strangers, "traveling scholars" (to be used as beggars)–anyone who would take them–so that for much of history only a minority of German children lived their entire childhoods under their family roof. Children were reported to be sent away to others as servants or as apprentices, "for disciplinary reasons," "to be drilled for hard work," "to keep them from idleness," because of a "domestic quarrel," "because it cried as a baby," "because his uncle was childless," etc.[321] Scheck notes from his study of autobiographies, "When their parents came to take them home, their children usually didn't recognize them any more."[322] Peasants gave away their children so regularly that the only ones who were guaranteed to be kept were the first-born boys–to get the inheritance–and one of the daughters–who was sometimes crippled in order to prevent her from marrying and force her to stay permanently as a cheap helper in the parental household.[323] After two children, it was said that "the parental attitude to later offspring noticeably deteriorated [so that] a farmer would rather lose a young child than a calf."[324]

Those children who were kept by their parents were considered, in Luther's words, "obnoxious with their crapping, eating, and screaming,"[325] beings who "don't know anything, they aren't capable of doing anything, they don't perform anything…[and are] inferior to adults"[326] and are therefore are only *useless eaters*[327] until they began to work. "When little children die, it's not often that you have a lot of grief [but] if an older child dies, who would soon be able to go off to work…everybody is upset–it's already cost so much work and trouble, now it's all been for nothing."[328] As "useless eaters" children were mainly resented: "…rarely could we eat a piece of bread without hearing father's comment that we did not merit it."[329]The children grew up feeling that "my mother was fond of society and did not trouble much about me" (Bismarck) or "[my mother] did not conduce to evolve that tender sweetness and solicitude which are usually associated with motherhood. I hardly ever recollect her having fondled me. Indeed, demonstrations of affection were not common in our family" (Wagner).[330] It is not surprising, therefore, with such a drastic lack of maternal love that historically outsiders complained that

German mothers routinely abandoned their children, "paid less attention to their children than cows,"[331] and observed that "mothers leave their small children or babies at home alone and go off shopping; or parents go visiting in the evening, leaving the small children at home by themselves…"[332]

BEATING, TERRORIZING AND SEXUALLY MOLESTING GERMAN CHILDREN

Although little children can be made less threatening by being given away, tied up or ignored, as they grow older they must be forced to conform to parental images of them as poison containers by beating and terrorizing them. German parents throughout history have been known as the most violent batterers in Europe,[333] particularly toward their boys,[334] seconding Luther's opinion that "I would rather have a dead son than a disobedient one."[335] Since mothers continued to be the main caretakers of the young children, the mother was far more often the main beater than the father.[336] Scheck and Ende found brutal beating in virtually all autobiographies at the end of the nineteenth century; Hävernick found that 89 percent were beaten at the beginning of the twentieth century, over half of these with canes, whips or sticks.[337] More recent surveys of report 75 percent of German adults say they had suffered from violence from their parents during their childhood, although hitting with instruments was falling from earlier periods.[338]

Battering babies sometimes begins in the womb. Violence against pregnant women has always been prevalent throughout human history, and since even today pregnant women are assaulted between 21 percent to 30 percent by their partners,[339] this suggests that many fetuses were probably physically abused at the end of the nineteenth century, even without considering the effects of widespread maternal alcoholism in Germany. The physical assaults resumed as soon as the little child was out of swaddling bands, whenever they cry for anything. The widely-followed Dr. Schreber says the earlier one begins beatings the better: "One must look at the moods of the little ones which are announced by screaming without reason and crying…[inflicting] bodily admonishments consistently repeated until the child calms down or falls asleep. Such a procedure is necessary only once or at most twice and–one is *master* of the child *forever*. From now on a glance, a word, a single threatening gesture, is sufficient to rule the child."[340] Schreber was overly optimistic and, like other German parents, continued to be threatened by imagined disobedience from his children, and so the beatings continued. Every independent move of children was seen as done, says Krüger, "with the intent of defying you;" it is "a declaration of war against you" which you must "whip him well till he cries so: Oh no, Papa, oh no!"[341] These are not just spankings; they are whippings, like Hitler's daily whippings of sometimes over 200 strokes with a cane or a hippopotamus whip, which sometimes put him into a coma.[342]Parents were often described as being in a "righteous rage" during the beatings[343] and the children often lost consciousness.[344] "At school we were beaten until our skin smoked. At home, the instrument for punishment was a dog-whip…My father, while beating, more and more worked himself into a rage. I lost consciousness from his beatings several times."[345]

Klöden writes that the motto of German parents at the end of the nineteenth century was simple: "Children can never get enough beatings."[346] Although few German parents from the past would today escape being thrown in jail for their batterings, children at the end of the nineteenth century found little protection from society, since their own word and even physical evidence of severe abuse counted for nothing. Ende's survey describes typical court cases where a neighbor would alert police to "a three-year-old girl [whose] body was covered with welts. Lips, nose and

gums were open wounds. The body showed numerous festering sores. The child had been placed on a red-hot, iron stove–two wounds on the buttocks were festering," but the court let the parent go free.[347] Ende describes routine beating, kicking, strangling, making children eat excrement, etc., saying, "The cases I have presented are not the most extreme; they are typical of the vast literature on German families."[348] The result was that German childhood suicides were three to five times higher than in other Western European countries at the end of the nineteenth century,[349] fear of beatings by parents being the reason most often cited by the children for their suicide attempts.[350] Few people cared about the reason for the suicides, since "suicidal children were thought to be spineless creatures, spoiled by indulgent parents…Newspapers wrote: 'A boy who commits suicide because of a box on the ears has earned his fate; he deserved to be ruined.'[351]" There simply was no one around to sympathize with battered children in Germany. Even the small feminist movement in Germany failed to speak out for the rights of children, declaring motherhood "oppressive,"[352] even though feminists in misogynous Germany in any case soon became "a symbol of disorder, decadence and physical and psychological disease."[353]

Although these constant beatings quickly produced compliant, obedient children, parental projections into them made continuous overcontrol appear necessary. German children were "often locked in a dark room or a closet or fastened to a table leg,"[354] were "hardened" by washing them with ice-cold water before breakfast,[355] and were tightly tied up in various corsets, steel collars and torturous back-support devices with steel stays and tight laces to hold them in controlled positions all day long.[356] Children were not only controlled by being frightened by endless ghost stories where they were threatened with being carried away by horrible figures.[357] The parents actually "dressed up in terrifying costumes [as] the so-called Knecht Ruprecht, made their faces black and pretended to be a messenger of God who would punish children for their sins."[358] At Christmas they dressed as Pelznickel, "armed with a rod and a large chain…If they have been bad children, he will use his rod; if good, he will bring them nuts…"[359] Petschauer remembers being threatened by a "hairy monster [that] chased me under the living room table, chains clanking, hoofs stomping, appearing it wanted to drag me off in its carrying basket, the *Korb*."[360] Scheck sums up the effects of these terrifying devices: "Most children had been so deeply frightened that their 'demons of childhood' persecuted them at night and in feverish dreams for their whole lives."[361]

Toilet training was an early, violent battle-ground for parental control over the infant. Since "babies and young children won't obey, don't want to do what grownups want them to do but instead test them, resist them, and tyrannize them [and since] they are impure, unclean and messy,"[362] toilet training begins at around six months of age, long before the infant has sphincter control. The training is done by regular use of

6:5 German Baby Being Assaulted With An Enema

enemas and by hitting the infant: "The baby cannot walk yet [Nana] spanks the baby. Hard. 'He is a dirty, dirty Hansi-baby,' she says, as she spanks. 'He made pooh-pooh last night! Dirty Hansi!' Nana slaps the little red buttocks." Traditional German obsession with children's feces is well known; both Dundes and von Zglinicki have written entire books on the subject.[363] The enema in particular was used as a frightening domination device, a fetish-object often wielded by the mother or nurse in daily rituals that resembled sexual assaults on the anus, sometimes including tying the child up in leather straps as though the mother were a dominatrix, inserting the two-foot-long enema tube over and over again as punishment for "accidents."[364] There were special enema stores that German children would be taken to in order to be "fitted" for their proper size of enemas. The ritual "stab in the back" was a central fear of German children well into the twentieth century, and they learned "never to speak of it, but always to think about it."[365]

The punitive atmosphere of the German home was so total that one can convincingly say that totalitarianism in the family led directly to totalitarianism in politics. Children were personal slaves of their parents, catering to their every need, waiting on them, tying to fulfill their every whim, even if only to be poison containers for their moods. Many accounts of the time describe a similar tense home atmosphere:

When the father came in from work, the children were expected to be at home. Neighbours…would warn…'[Your father's] coming! We ran like a flash, opened up and were inside in time!' The children would bring him his slippers, help him off with his coat, lay the table or just retreat in silence to a corner of the room…Right away we got punished, whack, a clip round the ear or something…'You take off my shoes; you go and get water; you fill my pipe for me and you fetch my books!' And we had to jump to it, he wouldn't have stood for it if we hadn't all done just as we were told…we had to kneel, one by the one window, another by the other…we would kneel with our heads against the wall…we had to stay there for two hours…"[366]

German children were also used by parents and servants as sexual objects from an early age.[367] German doctors often said "nursemaids and other servants carry out all sorts of sexual acts on the children entrusted to their care, sometimes merely in order to quiet the children, sometimes 'for fun.'"[368] Even Freud said he was seduced by his nurse and by his father,[369] and said

"nursemaids, governesses and domestic servants [were often] guilty of [grave sexual] abuses" and that "nurses put crying children to sleep by stroking their genitals."[370] Children were used like a comfort blanket: "If the father goes away on a journey, the little son can come to sleep in mother's bed. As soon as father returns, the boy is banished to his cot" next to the parents' bed, where he will continue to observe their intercourse.[371] These incestuous assaults were regular enough to be remembered rather than repressed in the autobiographies of the period.[372] In poorer families, of course, "it was unheard of for children to have their own beds,"[373] but even in wealthy families parents bring their children to bed with them. After using them sexually, they then would threaten to punish the child for their sexuality. "Little Hans," for instance, reported he regularly was masturbated by his mother, "coaxed [Freud's footnote: 'caressed'] with his Mummy [Freud's footnote: 'meaning his penis.'],"[374] but then told she would "send for Dr. A. to cut off your widdler" if he touched his penis.It is no wonder that Freud reported that his patients "regularly charge their mothers with seducing them,"[375] but not because "they had been cleansed by their mothers" as he claimed but because they had in fact been used sexually by them. They then impose various punishments and anti-masturbation devices such as penis-rings, metal cages with spikes and plaster casts to prevent erections while sleeping in order to punish the child for the incestuous acts of the parent.[376]

As children left their families in pedophile-prone nineteenth-century Germany, they were again raped at school, as servants, on the streets and at work. The majority of prostitutes were minors, often starting their careers as young as age seven, with parents often living off the prostitution of their daughters.[377] Virgins were particularly valuable, since "a superstition prevails…that venereal diseases may be cured by means of sexual intercourse with a virgin."[378] Bloch thought seducing children was "very widespread" because "timidity and impotence on the part of adult men, rendering intercourse with adult women difficult" led to their commonly raping children.[379] Rape by employers of servants was widespread, but since no one wanted illegitimate children, the servant girl was expected to kill any offspring.[380] Girls leaving school at thirteen regularly told tales of sexual assault at the hands of factory employers and managers or by bosses in the office.[381] And both boys and girls were open to rape in schools, by teachers as well as older students–there were even "free schools" known for pederastic use of young boys that espoused "pedagogical Eros" concepts that were popular in the period.[382]

6:6 A Typical Day in a Nineteenth-Century German School

Even the daily beatings so commonly reported at schools had overtones of sexual assault–after all, the German schoolmaster who boasted he had given "911,527 strokes with the stick, 124,000 lashes with the whip, 136,715 slaps with the hand and 1,115,800 boxes on the ear"[383] was engaged in a severe sexual compulsion, not a disciplinary act. One can easily sense the sexual excitement behind the claim that teachers must "know how to love with the cane,"[384] in schools that were

real torture-chambers for children and young people. All day long the hazel-rod, the ruler…and the cowhide reign, or they fly around in the class-room to warn the sluggish ones and the chatter-boxes or to call them to step out. Then, they were given a sound thrashing. How inventive were some school tyrants concerning their punishments…There is rarely a morning on which we do not see servants or even parents in the streets, dragging violently to school boys who cry at the top of their voices.[385]

THE INNOVATIVE PHASE: WEIMAR GERMANY AND THE FORBIDDEN LEAP INTO MODERNITY

A small minority of Germans at the turn of the century, however, had more modern, less brutal childrearing, and it was these who in every economic class managed to provide the new psychoclass that supported the democratic and economic reforms of the Weimar Republic. During the Weimar period, these advanced Germans were able to borrow more advanced social and economic models from other more democratic nations nearby, creating even larger a gap between the majority of Germans brought up in medieval childrearing ways and the needs of modern capitalism and democratic forms of government. This advanced minority did not mainly come from the wealthier economic classes; wealthy mothers regularly sent their newborn out to peasants who had reputations as being totally without feeling for the infants for whom they were supposed to care. The new psychoclass German children can be found in the historical record in exceptional autobiographies and diaries, more in the north than the south–where as we have seen the mothers didn't even breastfeed–more in the middle classes than in the wealthy, more urban than rural, and more in certain ethnic groups, *particularly the Jews*.

That German Jewish families "constituted one of the most spectacular social leaps in European history [and] produced some of the most fiercely independent minds" in Germany[386] is a little-understood cause of their persecution during the Holocaust, since a nation afraid of independence naturally chooses the most independent people in their population as scapegoats for their fear of freedom. Jews in Germany were far more literate (even the women) than others since medieval times, when most populations were nearly totally illiterate. Jewish families, smaller and more urban than other German families and far less authoritarian,[387] almost always nursed their own children, so that in 1907, for instance, in the south "44 percent of the children of Christian families died, but only 8 percent of the Jewish children."[388] Two major studies of German Jewish family life confirm that it was quite different from most of the other families around them, so much more loving and compassionate that even after the end of WWII, after experiencing during the Holocaust the most "severe abuse and unimaginable stress, there were no suicides [in survivors]…the people are neither living a greedy, me-first style of life, nor are they seeking gain at the expense of others…[389]most of their lives are marked by an active compassion for others…"

As was stressed earlier, what produces violent restaging of early trauma isn't merely the severity of the trauma, but whether or not the child blames himself.[390]

Two similar retrospective studies–one by Dicks of Nazis and another by the Oliners of rescuers of Jews–clearly reveal the different family backgrounds of the more advanced psychoclass represented by rescuers. Just as Dicks found brutal, domineering parents of Nazis who had "particularly destructive mother images,"[391] the Oliners interviewed over 406 rescuers of Jews, and compared them with 126 nonrescuers, and found that their economic class, their religion, their education, jobs and other social characteristics were all similar, only their childrearing was different.[392] Altruistic personalities, they found, had families that showed them more respect, more concern for fairness, more love and had less emphasis on obedience and more on individuality. They were almost never sent out to others to be cared for, and if they were sometimes hit by their parents, the parents often apologized.[393] Obviously, a new childrearing mode had penetrated to a minority of Germans at the beginning of the twentieth century, in time to produce a new innovative phase and an attempted "leap to modernity" during the Weimar Republic.

During this decade of prosperity, "many Germans enjoyed a temporary triumph of *eros* over *thanatos*, experiencing a sense of liberation hitherto unknown in a land where strong discipline and public conformity had held sway for generations."[394] Universal suffrage allowed women to vote, a minority of parties were even fairly democratic in intent, economic freedoms multiplied and produced unaccustomed prosperity, women's rights over their children were promoted and sexual material and even contraception became widely available, reducing for the first time the number of children per family to two.[395] But all this political, economic and social liberation produced terror in the average German, terror of maternal engulfment. Democracy was seen as "a beast of a thousand heads [that] crushes anything it cannot swallow or engulf."[396] Weimar Purity Crusades began to call for "emancipation from emancipation" and "a restoration of authoritarian rule."[397] Anti-pornography laws "to protect youth against literary rubbish and dirt" began to be passed as early as 1926.[398] Even women delegates in the Reichstag opposed "the masculinization of women" that they said was the result of women's rights, which were deemed "un-German."[399] Germany felt it needed a Phallic Leader who would give them a *national enema*, a purging, a purifying of "foreign" liberalism to "unify and cleanse"[400] the body politic as their mothers and nurses had forcefully purged them of feces and cleansed them of their desires for independence. The myth about "the stab in the back" (the enema) being the underlying cause of Germany's problems had deeper meaning than the political. It was agreed that "The stab in the back [is] a crime…the cause of our general paralysis and joylessness…"[401] What was needed, it was said, was something to "remove the *Verstopfung* [constipation]" that was obstructing German culture.[402] Germans complained throughout the Weimar period about "the stab in the back" they had received at the end of WWI, and said about the Versailles Treaty "always think about it, never speak of it," both phrases really referring to their enema assaults as children. The more prosperous Weimar became, the more growth panic Germans experienced–as shown in the increase in murder and manslaughter rates during the later Weimar years.[403] Thus it was that Germany–the nation that during the 1920s enjoyed higher standards of living than any other in Europe —[404]began its search for a violent, purging dictator long before the Depression began, the supposed cause of the dictatorship.

THE DEPRESSIVE PHASE: CHOOSING THE PHALLIC LEADER

Careful studies of the rise of Nazism conclude that the Depression came after, not before, the death of Weimar democracy and that "the decay of parliamentary government preceded the Nazi rise."[405] Nor did the Versailles Treaty and Allied demands for reparations cause them, since "German borrowing from abroad always far exceeded her reparation payments."[406] Nor, as we have documented, was antisemitism the cause of the rise of the Nazis. Not only was earlier German antisemitism milder than many other European nations,[407] "in the decisive electoral campaigns of 1930 and 1932…anti-Semitic agitation proved, if anything, more of a hindrance, so…leadership consciously played it down."[408] Most Germans were "relatively indifferent towards the Jewish Question,"[409] and "the vast majority of the general population did not clamor or press for anti-Semitic measures [even by] the *Kristallnacht* pogrom of November 1938…"[410]

The call for a dictatorship, in fact, came before it began to center on Hitler, first in films and other cultural material (Kracauer calls Weimar culture "a procession of tyrants")[411] and then in the Reichstag. The middle classes–"hardly touched by the depression"[412] –and the wealthy–"the richer the precinct the higher the Nazi vote"[413] –were the main sources of the over two-thirds of all delegates who voted Hitler dictator. Women in fact voted for Hitler in even greater proporations than men.[414] The ecstatic enthusiasm of the jubilant masses of people who celebrated their Phallic Leader came directly from his promises of a violent Purity Crusade that would end what Hitler called the "poisoning hothouse of sexual conceptions and stimulants [and the] suffocating perfume of our modern eroticism [which is] the personification of incest"[415] –all three images suggesting flashbacks to the sexually engulfing mommy of the family bed. Even during the Depression, Germans said, "We are somebody again!"[416] only because of their delusional merger with their Phallic Leader. Economics, political forms, antisemitism–all played second fiddle in the Nazi propaganda to Hitler's "ranting about prostitution and moral decadence."[417] What made Germans say about Hitler's dictatorship, "The Joy inside me was impossible to describe,"[418] was his violent Purity Crusade, a dopamine rush that warded off engulfment by the Terrifying Mother–using his hatred of his own mother that can be glimpsed in his saying about a frightening painting of Medusa he kept on his walls: "Those eyes! They are the eyes of my mother!"[419]

THE MANIC PHASE: BEGINNING THE KILLING OF "USELESS EATERS"

The Depression was relatively short in Germany. Since economic downturns are caused by motivated "mistakes" in restricting liquidity, Hitler performed what was called an "economic miracle" simply by reversing the "mistakes" of late Weimar economic policies, so that by the end of 1936 Germany surpassed the highest levels of GNP achieved during the 1920s.[420] It was only as the manic phase was well under way that Germany really felt their growth panic and completed their merger with the Fatherland and the promised violence of the Phallic Leader. Protected against growing body disintegration anxieties by fetishistic Nazi leather boots and uniforms, Germans could accomplish the "purification" of their nation by "stopping the creeping poison" exuded by Terrifying Mommies and Bad Boy selves, at home and abroad. One must say "Halt!" to freedom to be loved by mommy: after all, the "Heil Hitler!" salute, with arm stiffly outstretched and palm out, is a universal symbol of "Halt." Germans who as children were made to kneel silently against the wall for hours encountered American swing music as adults, wanted to dance, but still were under their internal parents' injunction to "Halt!" So Nazi soldiers halted all swing dancing in Germany and sent those who danced to swing music to concentration camps.[421] Only if Germans could stop being individuals living in freedom could they go back and

live as "one family" in the "joyful rapture" of one *Volk*, cleansed of sinfulness. Only if they were slaves to totalitarian Nazi whims could they restage their slavery to their parents in the totalitarian family of their childhoods; thus, even the chains of swaddling bands were embedded in the Nazi dicta: "He who can do what he wants is not free…He who feels himself without chains is not free."[422] Only those who could worship the Motherland (the swastika is an ancient symbol of Mother Goddess worship) could feel reborn and be loved as they always felt they deserved to be since birth. Since group-fantasies of merging with mommy proliferated, men feared they would become feminine, so homosexuals began to be persecuted with a vengeance.

Indeed, all of post-Depression Europe, America and even Asia were in their manic phase in the late Thirties and felt the need for a cleansing world war and sacrifice of scapegoats. American antisemitism, for instance, was on the rise, a steady minority feeling that Jews were a menace to America[423] and two-thirds indicating Jewish refugees should be kept out of the country.[424] In the summer of 1939 when over a thousand German Jews arrived in the New World, they were sent back.[425] The bill to accept 20,000 Jewish children into the U.S. was received with massive opposition because "20,000 children will soon turn into 20,000 ugly adults."[426] Thirty-two nations assembled at a conference on Jewish emigration and voted they "regretted" they could not take in more Jews.[427] When the British were approached to save Jews in exchange for goods, they replied, "What on earth are you thinking off…What shall I do with those million Jews? Where shall I put them?"[428] Nor was Hitler without his admirers in other countries before the invasion. Churchill called him "an indomitable champion [who could] restore our courage,"[429] Anthony Eden said of him "without doubt the man has charm…I rather liked him."[430] Indeed, Beisel's research into the group-fantasies of Western nations before the war concludes that Germany was "the bad boy" of Europe who was delegated the starting of the war by others in "the family of nations," just as many "bad boys" are delegated the acting out of violence felt by others in individual families.[431]

Before the war broke out, however, the killing of "bad boy" alters had begun in earnest. The earliest death camps, in fact, were set up to kill *children*who were *useless eaters*, the same term applied to the Germans themselves by their parents when they were children at the turn of the century. Long before the Holocaust of Jews began, medical officers sent questionnaires to parents and guardians of children in mental hospitals and homes for delinquent children, asking them if they would give their consent to killing them. So powerful was the unconscious group-fantasy at that time that "bad" children were polluting the German nation that most parents and guardians agreed to the killing of their "useless children."[432] The doctors, including pediatricians, spontaneously set up a Reich Committee "to exterminate 'undesirable' children, which drew up standards that read exactly like the child care manuals at the end of the nineteenth century, asking whether the child had been "late in being toilet trained" or had used "dirty words" or were "slow learners;" if they were, they were exterminated in gas chambers and crematorium ovens.[433] Over 70,000 of these "useless eaters" were murdered by doctors to "cleanse the German national body"[434] before the war began.[435] So proud were these doctors of their murder of "bad children" that they actually made a popular film of the killings, which was shown in theaters.[436] At the same time, throughout Germany, "midwives and nurses were instructed to report births of defective infants…including 'racially undesirable' ones…Thousands were killed by injection or deliberate starvation."[437] The wiping out of Bad Boy alters "out there" in the real world to remove

them from "inside here," in the traumatized hemisphere of the brain, had begun. Killing millions more "Bad Boys" in the Holocaust and World War II soon followed.

THE WAR PHASE: RAPING MOMMIES AND KILLING BAD BOY ALTERS

Killing mommies and children was the two tasks of Germans in starting WWII. Hitler made this clear in the speech he gave before his generals ordering the invasion of Poland. Note the exact words he used:

Genghis Khan has sent millions of women and children into death knowingly and with a light heart…I have put my death's head formations in place with the command relentlessly and without compassion to send into death many women and children of Polish origin…[438]

After quoting these sentences, Fischer says "Hitler had exclaimed that he would kill without pity all men, women and children."[439] But men were not in fact mentioned in his quote. Hitler said *women and children* must die–women as symbolic Terrifying Mothers, and children as symbolic Bad Boys. Even all the soldiers who must die–including the German soldiers who must die–were "youth," symbolic Bad Boy alters, vital, growing inner selves sacrificed to Moloch.

The path to war, however, did not begin with the killing of Bad Boy "useless eaters" to the East. Indeed, Hitler temporarily made a Nonaggression Pact with Russia and attempted to extend it to Poland. Germany's first task was *righteous rape*, the knocking of Mother England off her pedestal and, while still wooing her, teaching her a lesson of how she must stop humiliating Germans by rejecting their courtship. Nazi diplomatic language dripped of maternal imagery for the two Western nations, as when Goering asked, "Why should France continue to tie herself to a decayed old nation like England–a rouged old maid trying to pretend that she is still young and vigorous."[440] Hitler believed that war would teach England a lesson and make her respect Germany, predicting that "the end of the war will mark the beginning of a durable friendship with England. But first we must give her the K.O.–for only so can we live at peace with her, and the Englishman can only respect someone who has first knocked him out."[441] Mother England, after all, was a "purely Germanic nation" who, like a good German mother, ruled over her children (colonies) with an iron fist.[442] Germany had to rape her to dominate and really have her, but, Hitler said, "This doesn't prevent me from admiring [the English]. They have a lot to teach us."[443]

Historians agree that during the 1936-38 period "Hitler assumed that Britain could be wooed or forced into an alliance."[444] When England finally said they would defend Poland, Hitler responded by "abandoning his courtship of England, which had rejected him"[445] and proceeded with what was called "the rape of Austria," what Hitler called "the return of German-Austria to the great German motherland."[446] All Germans had long blamed England and France for the ineffective "Treaty of Shame" (Versailles)–a flashback to all their childhood memories of shame and humiliation by their caretakers–and promised to fight the West to "restore to each individual German his *self-respect* …We are not *inferior*; on the contrary, we are the complete equals of every other nation."[447] Even those Germans who were turned over to nurses by their mothers knew what Hitler meant when he declared that "Germany would not suffer under the tutelage of governesses,"[448] i.e., England.

Nazi *Blitzkreig* and dive-bomber tactics were particularly loaded with righteous rape fantasies featuring powerful thrusts and penetration of enemy bodies, wreaking vengeance for earlier wrongs. The war began in the East, restaging German childhood traumas against Bad Boys in Poland, and it involved from the start suicidal intent and the killing off of sinful Germans. Historians admit that fighting "an unlimited war of conquest [against] a worldwide coalition of states…was in itself an insane undertaking"[449] that was suicidal and sacrificial from the beginning. As Hitler promised nothing but death to what he called the "thousands and thousands of young Germans who have come forward with the self-sacrificial resolve freely and joyfully to make a sacrifice of their young lives,"[450] German mothers marched through the streets chanting "We have donated a child to the Führer," Nazi soldiers felt "politically reborn [when] filled with a pure joy I realized that what my mother had once said was true after all–that it was a hallowed act to give up one's life for Germany," and Hitler Youth sang, "We are born to die for Germany."[451] At no point was mere conquest of land the goal of Germany's invasions. Hitler hated Chamberlain for making concessions and avoiding war at Munich, telling his soldiers later, "We want war," and saying "I am only afraid that some *Schweinehund* will make a proposal for mediation" like at Munich.[452] "I did not organize the armed forces in order not to strike…The idea of getting out cheaply is dangerous…We must burn our boats."[453] He instructed his diplomats always to demand "so much that we can never be satisfied."[454] When asked about Poland, "What is it that you want? Danzig? The Corridor?" the answer was, "We want war."[455] The goal was to "Act Brutally! Be harsh and remorseless!"[456] While Germans marched West with visions of raping French women and climbing the Eiffel Tower, they marched East with visions of smashing Jewish babies heads against walls[457] and turning Moscow into "an artificial lake."[458] All Bad Boy alters to the East must be eliminated. The orders were: "Complete destruction of Poland is the military aim. Pursue until complete annihilation"[459] and "Moscow must be destroyed and completely wiped from the earth."[460]

Jewish annihilation plans only came later, actually during the summer months of 1941 when, "convinced that the military campaign was nearly over and victory was at hand, an elated Hitler gave the signal to carry out [the] racial 'cleansing' [of the Jews.]"[461] Initially, for many years, Jews were to be resettled, part of Hitler's "grandiose program of population transfers"[462] –90 percent of which were ethnic Germans and others and only 10 percent were Jews–a "massive upheaval of humanity"[463] that restaged upon five million people[464] the experiences of having to leave home endured during childhood by most Germans as their parents endlessly moved them around to wetnurses, relatives, schools and work sites. In 1940 Hitler and Himmler had rejected the "physical extermination of a people out of inner conviction as un-German and impossible."[465] It was only by the summer of 1941, in victory and afraid of running out of Bad Boys to kill in the East, that Hitler would approve of "the mass murder of all European Jews…in the form of deportation to death camps equipped with poison gas facilities"[466] like those used for murdering the 70,000 German children killed earlier. Christopher Browning correctly points to mania and success as the source of the Holocaust when he concludes, "Hitler [only] opted for the Final Solution in the 'euphoria of victory' of midsummer 1941."[467] Jews were the ultimate Bad Boys, symbols of liberalism, freedom and prosperity in the stock market, and so finally must be totally eliminated for Germans to return to the "pure" authoritarian family atmosphere of 1900 where only Good Boys survived.

Even the notion that Germany had to kill Poles and Jews for the acquisition of *Lebensraum*, or living space, completely misses the motive for the Holocaust. *Lebensraum* was a completely phony concept. It was actually a code word for the desire to break free, to have room to live and grow, to throw off swaddling bands and corsets, to get up from crouching against the wall as children and to have some *space to live*. Conquering foreign lands or annihilating Jews and others to expand the actual amount of soil Germany could farm made no sense at all, because Germany already had so much unused land that they had to import a steady stream of foreign workers to farm it.[468] Germans ate well under Hitler. The only reality behind the popular *Lebensraum* notion that the "Germanic mother could not feed her children adequately"[469] was the inability of German mothers and wetnurses four decades earlier to empathize with and adequately feed their infants and children.

Jews, then, were the main poison containers for the restaging of traumatic German childrearing practices four decades earlier. Every one of the things done to Jews in the Holocaust can be found to have been perpetrated by parents and others to German children at the turn of the century. The precise details of earlier events that were reinflicted upon Jews later are astonishingly minute and literal. Jews were, of course, murdered by the millions, just as German children had watched their siblings murdered in infanticidal acts earlier, using the exact same phrase for the genocide of Jews–"elimination of useless eaters"–as parents had used earlier for their infants and children as they murdered them at birth.[470] Because infanticide rates were so high, the majority of German children would have witnessed the murder of newborn siblings by their mothers, would have heard the murdered baby being called a "useless eater," and would themselves have been called a "useless eater" as children and so could have wondered if they might also be murdered. One can hardly read a single Holocaust book without having to wade through endless accounts of children buried alive by Nazis, "children having their heads beaten in like poultry and thrown into a smoking pit," "babies thrown from the fourth floor and crushed on the pavements," "children's bodies lay around, torn in half with the heads smashed in," "'little Jews' caught on bayonets after being thrown from upper story windows," etc.[471] Even the specific methods German mothers had used for killing their newborn–especially smashing the baby against a wall or throwing it into a latrine–were "a regular occurrence"[472] against Jews in concentration camps:

When mothers succeeded in keeping their babies with them…a German guard took the baby by its legs and smashed it against the wall of the barracks until only a bloody mass remained in his hands. The unfortunate mother had to take this mass with her to the 'bath.' Only those who saw these things with their own eyes will believe with what delight the Germans performed these operations. [Also] SS men used to amuse themselves by swinging Jewish children by their legs and then flinging them to their deaths. He who threw a Jewish child farthest won.[473]

Jews were also regularly tied up and made to live in their own filth exactly as swaddled German infants were earlier. Rarely washed, Germans had spent their early lives covered with their own excreta, addressed by their parents simply as "little shitter."[474] In the concentration camps, Jews were subject to what Des Pres calls a constant "excremental assault," in which they were forced to defecate and urinate upon each other, were often thrown into the cesspool if they were too slow, lived in barracks "awash with urine and feces," walked about "knee-deep in excrement," were forced to eat their own feces, and finally died in gas chambers "covered all over with

excrement."[475] In one camp, 30,000 women not only had to use a single latrine, but in addition, "we were permitted to use it only at certain hours of the day. We stood in line to get into this tiny building, knee-deep in human excrement."[476] Holocaust scholars, missing the childhood origins of all these gratuitous excremental cruelties, have been puzzled by how much of the concentration camp routine was devoted to the endless humiliations: "Why, if they were going to kill them anyway, what was the point of all the humiliation, why the cruelty?" Gitta Sereny asked of Franz Stangl.[477] But of course the humiliation was the point, restaging early German childhood exactly. Hitler–himself swaddled and left alone in his feces by his mother–had told Germans in *Mein Kampf* , "If the Jews were alone in this world, they would suffocate in dirt and filth."[478] In the Holocaust the Jews–"so much like us" (Hitler)–would suffocate in dirt and filth, as all little, helpless German babies did all day long at the hands of their mothers. And since the "little shitter" German babies were also covered with lice, vermin and rodents as they lay swaddled in their cradles, unable to move, Jews too were called "lice, vermin and rats" as they were locked into the concentration camps, told "This is a death camp…You'll be eaten by lice; you'll rot in your own shit, you filthy shitface…"[479] Some guards even restaged the rodent attacks "by inserting a tube into the victim's anus, or into a woman's vagina, then letting a rat into the tube. The rodent would try to get out by gnawing at the victim's internal organs."[480] Later toilet training of German children was also restaged, often in precise detail, as by having the ghetto-latrine supervised by a "guard with a big clock, whom the Germans dressed comically as a rabbi and called the 'shit-master.'"[481]

Every extermination camp reproduced elements of a typical German home. Jews were not said to be there to be murdered, they were there to be "housecleaned."[482] Mommy hated her children's "dirtiness," wanted them "clean," so "dirty Jews" were killed so only "clean Germans" would be left. Jews were *Untermenschen* (with overtones of "little people") who were forced to crawl on the floor naked like babies,[483] and who were tied up, starved, made to kneel for hours, doused with ice water, terrorized and beaten just like most German children.[484] The battering of Jews in camps followed the hallowed German child-beating pattern of "being strong" (not making the perpetrator feel guilty by crying out):

I dropped to my knees without uttering a sound. I knew what was expected of me. I looked at the commandant from my knees as he smiled back at me with approval. He swung the chair at me again, striking me on the shoulder. I sprawled on the ground, bruised and dizzy, but I still made no sound. He raised the chair and brought it down on my head, shattering it…I bit my tongue to stop myself making a sound…I knew that if I made another sound, nothing could save me. 'Very good, for being strong. You shall be rewarded. Get some food. Tell them I sent you…'[485]

The beatings and tortures were, as is so often the case with sadism, often sexualized:

The SS camp commander stood close to the whipping post throughout the flogging…his whole face was already red with lascivious excitement. His hands were plunged deep in his trouser pockets, and it was quite clear that he was masturbating throughout…On more than thirty occasions, I myself have witnessed SS camp commanders masturbating during floggings…[486]

Sexual tortures of prisoners were legion, including pushing sticks up into boys' penises and breaking them off, brutally massaging prostates with pieces of wood inserted into the rectum,

castrating men and removing the ovaries of women, training dogs to attack their genitals, etc.[487] Victims were all Bad Boys and Bad Girls, needing to be punished for their sexuality, as the German guards' parents had punished them. The Holocaust was one gigantic, bizarre "cautionary tale," teaching everyone the same lessons taught to German children as they were assaulted, so when local civilians during the Holocaust saw Jews being clubbed to death in the street, they *cheered*, "with mothers holding up their children to enjoy the spectacle and soldiers milling around to watch the fun like a football match."[488]

THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF CHILDREARING AND THE DECREASE IN HUMAN VIOLENCE

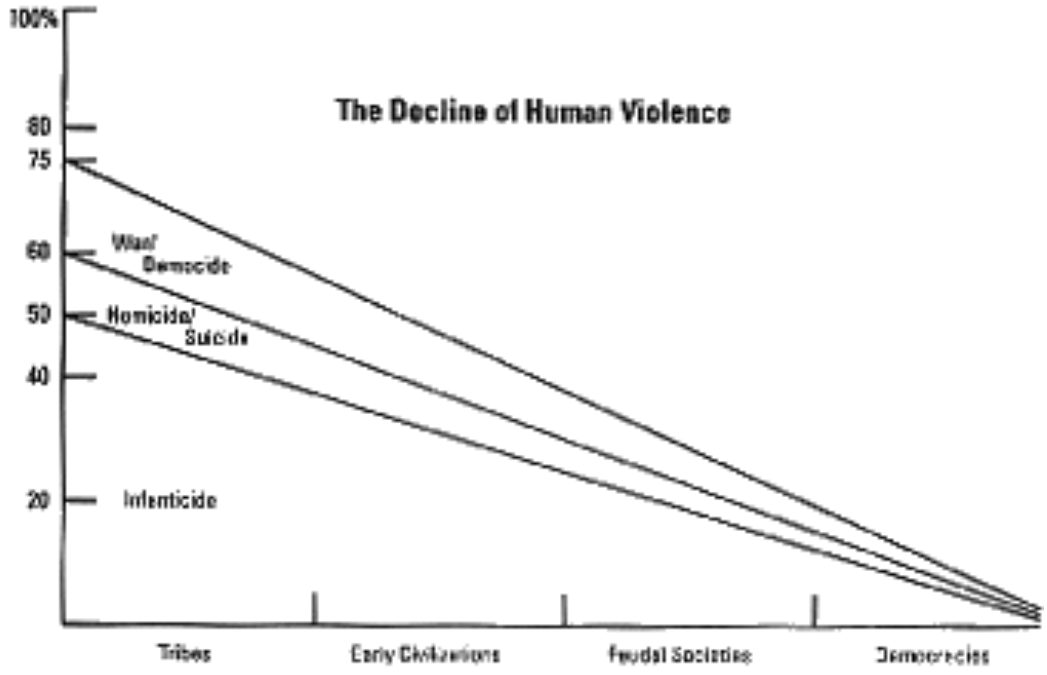
As the next three chapters will document, childrearing has steadily improved historically, even if very unevenly, so if the psychogenic theory is correct then human violence should have decreased steadily over the past millennia. Yet the twentieth century has been widely touted as the most violent in history and has often been compared by anthropologists to some so-called peaceful tribes they have claimed represent our oldest ancestors. How can childhood be the source of human violence if violence has vastly increased while childrearing has improved?

That twentieth century wars have been more violent seems to be an obvious fact. Technology alone allows us to be far more lethal than in earlier centuries, when wars causing 250,000 or more deaths were rare,[489] while World War II alone killed 15 million people in battle, and total battlefield deaths for the twentieth century have exceeded 100 million.[490] What's more, if one expands the definition of war deaths to what Rummel terms "democide"–so that the 40 million Russian deaths ordered by Stalin, for instance, are included–the number of "deaths by government" in the twentieth century jumps past 170 million.[491] Surely Nordstrom is right in saying, "This past century was the bloodiest century in human existence,"[492]thus disproving the psychogenic theory of decreasing violence resulting from improving childrearing.

Yet Nordstrom's pessimistic conclusion is reversed if one measures the rate of violence by the likelihood of one's dying by war and democide. With several billion people on earth during the twentieth century, the rate of death by wars is in fact less than two percent of the population.[493] Although individual wars in the past have killed less in numbers, they could easily wipe out many times this percentage of the population, particularly if–as is rarely done–the battlefield deaths are increased to include the democides of the past, when massacring civilians in entire cities was a common practice.[494] Further, what is more relevant to the childrearing comparison is that lumping all nations in the twentieth century together regardless of their childhood evolution masks the fact that advanced democratic nations like the United States, England and France have lost only a fraction of a percentage of their populations in wars during the century. The United States, for instance, lost 120,000 soldiers in WWI, only .12 percent of the population, and 400,000 soldiers in WWII, only .34 percent of the population.[495] The Korean War only lost .04 percent, the Vietnam War only .03 percent, and the Gulf War .0003 percent of Americans. The facts are that the more advanced the childrearing, the more democratic the society and the less percentage lost in wars. This is why no democratic nation has ever gone to war with another democratic nation in history.[496]

Anthropologists have promulgated what Keeley calls "the myth of the peaceful savage" so effectively that when actual deaths by war are tabulated for pre-state simple societies one is

astonished by how such a notion can continue to be taught to students.[497] Keeley documents 22 prestate tribes with war deaths five to ten times that of contemporary democratic nations, concluding that "what transpired before the evolution of civilized states was often unpleasantly bellicose."[498] Death rates in areas like New Guinea and South America, where there has been less Western policing of war than in Africa and Asia, range from an astonishing 25 to 35 percent of all adult deaths.[499] The most warlike society ever described is the Waorani of the Amazon, which produced 60 percent of all adult deaths from war raids.[500] It is likely that prestate societies 10,000 years ago had similar astronomical death rates from wars, if the number of human bones with stone axes and arrowheads embedded in them are counted.[501]The 30 percent average of adult deaths in prestate societies is even higher than the figures of below 10 percent that early modern wars tended to average out,[502] although admittedly little has been done to date to measure non-battlefield deaths in state wars prior to the twentieth century. The overall historical decline from 30 percent of adult population to under one percent for war/democide adult deaths for democratic nations has therefore been plotted in the graph below as a clear downward trend through history, as childrearing improves through the ages and gradually reduces the inner need to kill others.



6:7 The Decline of Human Violence

Besides war and democide, the graph also shows the decline of the two other outlets for human violence: infanticide and homicide/suicide. Infanticide is usually not counted as murder by demographers, since they do not consider newborn as human. But most human murders in history were in fact committed by mothers killing their newborn. The rates of infanticide in contemporary pre-state tribes are enormous: Australian Aborigine mothers, for instance, killed about 50 percent of all newborn, and the first missionaries in Polynesia estimated the two-thirds of the children were murdered by their parents.[503] Birdsell hypothesized infanticide rates as high as 50 percent for prehistoric tribal societies, based on high fertility rates and slow growth of

populations.[504] My own cross-historical study, *On the Demography of Filicide*,[505] is based on a large number of boy-girl ratios that ran as high as 135 to 100, which showed that girls until modern times were killed in sufficiently higher numbers than boys to have affected census figures for children. Tribal societies also often infanticide enough of their newborn girls at a higher rate than boys to produce childhood sex ratios of from 140 to 100 (Yanomamö) to 159 to 100 (Polynesian),[506] meaning that virtually all families killed at least one child and most killed several, averaging perhaps half of all children born, especially if "late infanticide" (such as letting an infant starve to death) are counted. Since 50 percent infanticide rates seems to be the norm around which all these studies of simple tribes center, it is what is shown at the left of the chart.

The third outlet for human violence is homicide/suicide–lumped together because when homicide rates initially go down in modern times suicide rates tend for a while to climb, suicide being somewhat more "advanced" (less impulsive) method of personal violence than homicide. Many simple tribes had homicide rates of up to 50 or 60 percent, causing one anthropologist to conclude about one group, "There was not a single grown man who had not been involved in a killing in some way or another."[507] Even so-called "peaceful" tribes like the famous !Kung of Africa actually have "twenty to fifty times" current modern homicide rates.[508] Knauft's careful study found the Gebusi homicide rate to be sixty times the current U.S. rate,[509] with 60 percent of all males admitting to having committed one or more homicides,[510] while Steadman found the Hewa–who specialize in killing witches–had a homicide rate of one percent of the population per year, a thousand times the current U.S. rate.[511] Most tribal homicide rates run around ten percent of the adult population over a lifetime. Suicide in small societies is usually higher among the women, since they live lives of despair, often reaching 10 to 25 percent of adult women's deaths, staying high in antiquity but declining under Christianity, when suicide was declared to be self-murder.[512] Homicide rates in medieval and early modern history, when almost everyone carried a knife or sword and often used them, ran about ten times higher than today's rates of about a quarter of one percent–although they should be adjusted upward for the number of unrecorded homicides in the past–while suicide rates today run about a half of one percent of adult population over a lifetime.[513] Thus homicide/suicide rates, like those of war and infanticide, have decreased steadily, to less than one percent for most democratic nations today. Added together, then, the rate of human violence has dropped from around a 75 percent chance of being murdered by your fellow human beings to around 2 percent for advanced democratic nations today, as a result of the slow and steady improvement in childrearing over the centuries, with the reduction of early trauma, the growth of the hippocampal-orbitofrontal cortex network and more balanced neurotransmitters in the human population.

WHAT WILL WARS BE LIKE DURING THE NEXT CENTURY?

Even just two percent of six billion people is a hundred twenty million people. Should we still expect violence to kill this many people each generation during the next century? What's more, only a part of the world today is democratic. Most of the world is still "leaping into modernity," just becoming more free, democratic and prosperous, but with their childrearing not yet modern, thus going through the same growth panic process that Germany went through in the middle of the twentieth century. We can therefore expect higher rates of democide in the coming decades in the developing countries. Yugoslavia, as an example, became democratic only recently, and only then began expressing their growth panic through mass murdering and raping their

neighbors–much like the Nazis did–since their childrearing was still thoroughly medieval.[514] Especially with nuclear and biological weapons proliferating, might we expect major wars in the next century to again kill hundreds of millions of people, despite slowly improving childrearing?

Advanced democracies today have sufficient proportions of good parents now to be satisfied with working off their growth panics by small wars and recessions rather than world wars and depressions.[515] Since the end of WWII, wars have been far smaller in fatalities–at least for the democracies, if not for their opponents–so that the sacrificial needs of nations seem to be satisfied with only thousands or even hundreds of deaths rather than millions, what has been termed "low-intensity wars."[516] Military spending in democratic nations has dropped from around 75 percent of government spending in the late eighteenth century to somewhere between 10 and 20 percent today.[517] These smaller wars have been more frequent and have alternated more frequently with small recessions, so the classic 50-year manic/depressive cycle of the previous centuries that we graphed above has been drastically shortened, and recessions and small wars seem to substitute for each other as sacrificial rituals rather than alternating as in past centuries. But all this has happened mainly in developed, democratic nations with better childrearing, so the answer to the question about war in the next century has to be ambivalent. I am confident that I can trust my children and their friends on the West Side of Manhattan–who have loving, helping mode parents who come from every ethnic and economic strata–to make a non-violent world in the next century. But the average Chinese or African or Russian child has still so often been brought up in an atmosphere of infanticide, battering, sexual molestation and severe domination that they can be forecast to need to repeat their parental holocaust on the historical stage in the future as they experience their new freedoms, repeating the democides of the twentieth century but with even greater destructive weapons. Just allowing the usual slow historical evolution of childrearing may not be enough to outweigh the escalating destructiveness of our weapons. *Therefore, the more advanced psychoclasses will have to actually intervene in the world's families to help change parenting and thus childhood for everyone on earth*. Unless this can be done during the twenty-first century, it seems likely that the proliferating power of our weaponry could outrun the evolution of our childrearing and make the coming decades even more violent than the twentieth century has been.

A new way to change parenting, community parenting centers, has in fact begun to be developed in a few American communities, and their surprising success provides hope that they can decrease human violence around the world at affordable costs. Parenting centers not only have free classes in parenting; they also have a staff that visits the homes of every child born in the community weekly during their first two years of life and helps the parents parent, teaching them what no school has ever thought it worthwhile to teach–that you need not be afraid of your child, that you need not hit them or use them for your needs, that you can love and trust them to grow up and turn out better than you did by not repeating on them the abusive parenting you once endured. Exactly how these parenting centers work will be described in detail in the final chapter of this book. They promise to be able to eliminate child abuse and drastically reduce human violence around the globe, with costs only a fraction of the $8 trillion the world has spent on warfare since WWII.[518]

As an example of how global parenting centers could work to reduce world-wide violence, consider NATO, which was built up to "counter the Communist threat" at the cost of over a half trillion dollars. NATO has been actually so far used only to kill a few thousand Yugoslavs. Suppose around fifty million dollars of the half trillion had been spent on helping Eastern European nations have better families–sort of an Eastern European Marshall Plan, only including helping parents directly with parenting centers that reached into every home, showing parents that they need not swaddle, beat and torture their children as has been common in the Yugoslav *zadruga*.[519] Yugoslav children would then not have grown up to be violent youth raping and killing others as they are doing today, but would instead be "new Yugoslavia youth" building their nation. This new principle of *actively changing childhood* can in fact be repeated around the world—again, at a fraction of the cost of the destructive arsenal the world today maintains.

Removing the causes of violence only takes empathy, foresight and will, not huge resources. We are today like a group of people standing on the banks of a river trying desperately to save people we see drowning, but refusing to go upstream and stop them from being thrown in. The reduction of human violence involves *prevention* first of all—the removal of the source of the illness—just like the prevention of any other human clinical disorder. That enough of us can summon the empathy and understanding needed to change what has long been called "our violent human nature" is our only hope for the future of our precious world.

Chapter 7: Childhood and Cultural Evolution

"The child feels the drive of the Life Force … you cannot feel it for him."
George Bernard Shaw

Since nearly all of the cultural evolution of Homo sapiens sapiens has taken place during the past 100,000 years-only about 5,000 generations-and since this time span is too short to allow the human gene pool to mutate very much, epigenetic evolution of the psyche-the evolution of the architecture of the brain occurring during development in the womb and during early childhood-must be the central source of cultural change, rather than genetic evolution. Just as one can lift a newborn out of a contemporary cannibal culture and bring it up in one's own culture without noticing any personality difference, one could also, presumably, raise a Cro-Magnon baby in a modern family without noticing any differences. After decades of sociobiologists' claims that "social structures and culture are but more elaborate vessels or survivor machines for ensuring that genes can maximize their fitness,"[1] there still is not a shred of evidence that any cultural change is due to natural selection of random variations affecting human gene pools during the past 100,000 years. The short stature of Pygmies may have been selected for during millions of years of biological evolution as an adaptation to the heat of the tropics,[2] but even the most ardent sociobiologists have not claimed to show that beliefs in witches or divine leaders found in every environment have been selected for by any environmental condition,[3] since these cultural traits are solutions to emotional, not environmental, problems. One recent study of approximately 100 major genetic human traits concluded that "no absolute differences between populations of primitive and civilized humans are known…"[4] Unfortunately, this means that the laws of the psychological and cultural evolution of Homo sapiens sapiens remain a total mystery.

Since neo-Darwinian theory of differential genetic replication requires massive extinctions for the robust selection and retention of random mutations, the lack of evidence for many mass extinctions during the past 100,000 years means neo-Darwinian theory of differential reproductive rates has little value in explaining the relatively rapid evolution of the psyche and culture of Homo sapiens sapiens. In addition, the trillions of neural connections in the brain are simply far too numerous to be determined by the limited number of genes in the gamete, so most brain structure must be determined by epigenetic events. As Ernst Mayr puts it, "The brain of 100,000 years ago is the same brain that is now able to design computers….All the achievements of the human intellect were reached with brains not specifically selected for these tasks by the neo-Darwinian process."[5] Since environmental selection of random genetic variations is not the central mechanism for evolution in modern human neural networks, the question is what non-Darwinian processes have been responsible for the enormous evolution of brain networks and cultures in modern humans?

THE FAILURE OF ENVIRONMENTAL DETERMINISM OF CULTURAL EVOLUTION

That so many social scientists remain environmental determinists is puzzling. It certainly is not because the method has any empirical verification environment is simply assumed causal in

culture change because historical advances in human nature are so often a priori assumed impossible. As Leslie White once put it, since it is assumed that human nature cannot change, "we see no reason why cultural systems of 50,000 B.C….could not have been capable of originating agriculture as well as systems in 8,000 B.C.…We must look, then, to environmental [factors] for the answers to these questions."[6] For instance, most social scientists agree with Johnson and Earle that "the primary motor for cultural evolution is population growth" determined by environmental conditions,[7] overlooking that population growth relies upon the reduction of infanticide (both from murder at birth and from later neglect) and the growth of the ability to cooperate and devise ways to produce more food, both psychological traits dependent upon childrearing practices. In fact, recent empirical studies have rejected simple population growth as the mainspring of evolution, pointing out, for instance, that many advanced chiefdoms form in areas of quite low population density.[8] As Hallpike put it, "there are many societies with sufficient population density but which have nevertheless not developed the state…population density is merely an index of the abundance of a vital raw material people and has by itself no power to determine how that raw material will be used."[9] Hayden summarized recent empirical studies testing environmental factors in evolution by saying "neither population pressure nor circumscription appears to have played a significant role in creating inequality or complexity."[10] Hallpike rightly concluded his survey of supposed environmental causes of cultural evolution by stating, "The materialist belief that the environment simply causes social adaptation is therefore quite unfounded…there are many different ways of accommodating to the environment…."[11] Environments are also opportunities, not just straightjackets. As Kirch and Yen conclude, "men reach out to embrace and create their ecosystems, rather than the reverse proposition."[12] It is when early childrearing experiences are impaired that children are forced to reduce their behavioral flexibility and are therefore as adults unable to improve their environments and experience cultural stagnation.

The psychogenic theory sees environments as presenting both the constraints and the opportunities for cultural evolution, while the evolution of psychological development during the fetal and childhood period determines how these challenges are met. Since humans far more than other species construct their environments,[13] their creative use to fulfill human needs is crucially determined by the degree of innovation that is allowed by the level of childhood evolution attained.

This of course does not mean that environment counts for nothing. Jared Diamond has convincingly shown how environmental differences have raised and lowered the steepness of the ladder of cultural evolution, demonstrating that the availability of a few good plant and animal domesticates crucially determines the rates of evolution of cultures in different parts of the world, with those areas which have domesticable grains and cattle being able to evolve faster than those that did not.[14] But the evolutionary problem isn't only about the availability of environmental resources. Obviously one cannot develop much agriculture in the Arctic, and obviously tropical regions have too many insects and parasites and too severe floods and droughts that hinder their economic development.[15] But environment is only part of the answer to evolutionary differences. Environmental change cannot explain cultural evolution since culture has often evolved while the ecology has devolved because of soil exhaustion. The point is that the degree of steepness of the environmental ladder doesn't determine whether people chose to climb it you still must want to climb and you must be innovative enough to invent or adopt ways

to conquer each rung, whether the base of the ladder is planted in the snow, in a rain forest or in the milder climate of Western Europe. The secret as to why England and not France or Germany spawned the Industrial Revolution first goes back to England's advanced childrearing in its smaller medieval households, not to any ecological advantage.[16] English political freedom, religious tolerance, industry and innovation were all psychoclass achievements, dependent upon childrearing evolution. The most important unsolved question in cultural evolution is therefore to explain the rate of innovation and adoption of new techniques of exploiting what resources exist-factors that depend crucially upon the local rate of evolution of childrearing.

Despite their advocacy of unicausal environmental determinism, anthropologists have regularly demonstrated that similar environments have produced quite different psyches and cultures. Even though most follow Whiting's paradigm that environment determines childhood, personality and culture,[17] others take great delight in describing quite different personalities and cultures coming out of identical environments-one tribe that is gentle, loving and peaceful and the other composed of fierce headhunting cannibals-but then leave the cause of their stark differences as unexplained as if the two groups were dropped down on earth from two different planets.[18] Obversely, others describe quite similar cultures developing in wholly different environments. In Polynesia, for instance, Goldman concludes that "societies can be similar in basic culture whether they occupy atolls or high islands, relatively rich habitats or barren islands; they cannot be regarded as having been molded by their different material environments."[19] But then he is puzzled that he cannot explain how people in such different environments could have evolved such similar cultures. Deprived by their evidence of their theories of environmental determinism, anthropologists discover that the sources of cultural evolution are simply inexplicable.

Archeologists used to accept anthropologists' theories of environmental determinism, but now most admit that their best evidence has turned out to be solidly against it. Social complexity and inequality used to be thought caused by the invention or adoption of farming and herding; but the evidence turns out to show that complexity and inequality preceded agriculture rather than followed it: "Permanently settled communities of more complex hunter-gatherers appear to be the norm in many areas in the late Pleistocene…"[20] Apparently first people changed, then they managed to change their cultures and technologies. Price asks: "what caused the adoption of agriculture?" His answer is the one more and more archeologists are beginning to agree with: "questions about the transition to agriculture clearly have more to do with internal social relations than with external events involving climate and the growth of human population."[21] The "driving force behind food production," Price says, is the appearance of new kinds of people, ones he calls "accumulators," who "emerge" and engage in competitive feasts that require more food production.[22] Johnson and Earle agree, speaking of "a new attitude toward change" that appears in history, "though the reason for it remains obscure."[23] Discovering what causes these new kinds of people and new attitudes toward change to mysteriously "emerge" throughout history (or, as often, not to "emerge") is therefore a central task of the psychogenic theory of evolution.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HISTORICAL AND NEO-DARWINIAN EVOLUTION

Problems of explaining evolution are central to all sciences, including the social sciences. Just as nothing in biology makes complete sense except in the light of [genetic] evolution, nothing in

human history makes complete sense except in the light of epigenetic (psychogenic) evolution. Neo-Darwinian theory of biological evolution explains all behavioral change in animals as resulting from the accretion of random variations produced by mutation, recombination and genetic drift selected as better adaptations to changing environments. But what is usually overlooked is that genetic evolution only provides the capacity for adult behavioral variations assuming a specific developmental environment.[24] The road from genotype to phenotype is a long one. What trait actually appears in the mature individual depends upon the actual course of epigentic development, beginning in the womb and continuing throughout childhood an extraordinarily complex and variable journey for each individual. The most important environments are the mother's body and behavior, and the most important competition for survival not in the sperm or ovum but at the neural level, in the brain, with the mother acting as the "agent of natural selection."[25]

What is little recognized is that recent revolutionary discoveries in molecular biology by Gottlieb, Lipton and others have begun to show that early environments actually change genetic structure.[26] Maternal prenatal environment and even early parental care can actually be passed down to succeeding generations through the genes, contrary to traditional biological theory. Genes cannot turn themselves on or off, they need a signal from their environment, so genetic structure is wide open to environmental changes, rather than being wholly immune from environmental input as has been thought to date. This isn't Lamarckianism; Lamarck didn't know about gene behavior. What has changed is the discovery that cells contain receptors that respond and adapt to environmental signals-the mother being the main controller of genetic accessing.[27] In addition, it has been discovered that only 10 percent of nuclear genes are used to code human expression, while the remaining 90 percent-previously thought of as useless baggage and referred to as "junk DNA"-contains extra DNA that can rewrite genetic messages, create new gene expression and new behavior.[28] Even maternal emotions can be passed to fetal genes and then to the next generation. Gottlieb has prenatally stressed mice, who are as adults found to be more aggressive, and then taken the male mice and mated them with other females and found that their grandsons were also more aggressive than non-stressed males-thus showing how environmental stress can be passed down genetically. Perry and others have shown dramatically how stressed children "change from being victims to being victimizers" because of imbalanced noradrenaline and serotonin levels, which then can be passed down through both genetic and epigenetic changes.[29] Indeed, the ability of the genome to respond to its environment means evolutionary change takes place both by environmental selection of random variations and by epigenetic inheritance systems.[30] Thus a drought that starves mothers and their fetuses or an increase in wife-beating in a society can effect not only the first but succeeding generations' psyches and behavior through changes in genetic structure and gene accessing.

The laws of historical evolution are quite different from the laws of neo-Darwinism. The central hypothesis of the psychogenic theory of historical evolution is that epigenetic neuronal variations originating in changing interpersonal relationships with caretakers rather than only through genetic variations originating through natural selections are the primary source of the evolution of the psyche and society. "The more evolved the species is…the greater the role of epigenetic mechanisms in the structure of the nervous system."[31] The fundamental evolutionary direction in Homo sapiens sapiens is towards better interpersonal relationships, not just the satisfaction of biological instincts. While adaptation to the natural environment is the key to genetic evolution,

relationship to the human environment is the key to psychological evolution, to the evolution of "human nature." Psychogenesis is also the key to cultural evolution, since the range of evolution of childrearing in every society puts inevitable limits upon what it can accomplish-politically, economically and socially.

Developmental changes in the three-pound, trillion-celled human brain have completely overwhelmed purely genetic changes as causes of psychological and cultural evolution in the past 100,000 years. The causal mechanisms for the evolution of human psyche and culture have more and more decoupled from the neo-Darwinian causal mechanisms that depend solely upon outbreeding success.[32] The psychogenic theory of evolution is based not upon Spencer and Darwin's "survival of the fittest" products of the most ruthless parents but upon the "survival of the most innovative and cooperative" products of the most loving parents. The processes of historical evolution, based upon the very slow growth of love and cooperation, are therefore the exact opposite from those of neo-Darwinian natural selection, based overwhelmingly upon conflict and competition. They include:

(1) The production of variations through psychogenesis is by creating through more love different early epigenetic environments-more advanced fetal and early childhood developmental paths-not through random genetic mutations and recombinations-i.e., through variations in the structures of neuronal groups achieved during post-genetic development after inception, not through mutations in DNA prior to inception;

(2) the vehicles of transmission include neuronal groups in the brains of individual parents and children, not solely genes in the sexual organs of parents;

(3) the selection of variations is accomplished through changes in a very narrow part of the human environment-the family, the main organizer of emotional symbols, particularly the mother-rather than simply through changes in the ecology;

(4) the preservation of emergent variations in some individuals is often prevented from being swamped by the less developed childrearing practices of the rest of the culture via the psychogenic pump effects of migration;

(5) the limitations to emergent variations (psychogenic devolution) occurs either because of conditions adverse to childrearing-such as wars, plagues or droughts-or because sudden increased social freedom for adults creates excessive growth panic, anxieties which are turned against children as poison containers, thereby producing devolution in childrearing in a portion of a given society;

(6) the main locus of epigenetic variations is the slow evolution of the individual conscious self that looks forward to its future and creates its own extended present, a self that evolves mainly through the growth of love in the parent-child relationship;

(7) the rate of innovation in cultural evolution is determined by the conditions for parental love and therefore increase in individual self-assertion in each society, all cultural evolutions being preceded by a childrearing evolution; and

(8) the locus of psychogenic evolution has historically been affected far more by maternal than paternal influence-indeed, entirely maternal in the crucial first nine months of life-rather than males and females each contributing half of the genetic information as occurs in neo-Darwinian evolution.

This last point will only become fully evident in the next chapter, where it will be documented that the task of "fathering"-of playing a real role in forming a child's psyche-is in fact a very late historical invention. Most fathers among our closest ape relatives don't have much to do with their children,[33] and a nurturing role during early childhood for the human father turns out to be a far more recent historical innovation than has heretofore been assumed. The major epigenetic changes in the structures of the brain, therefore, have mainly been evolved by females, not males. Fathers until recently have affected their children's psyches mainly through family provisioning and by establishing some of the conditions for mothering, but it has mainly been the mothers who have produced epigenetic novelty; so to discover the laws of cultural evolution one must "follow the mothers" through history. This is why only the psychogenic theory posits that for most of history women and children are the ultimate source of historical change.

THE "HOPEFUL DAUGHTER" AND THE PSYCHOGENIC CUL-DE-SAC

Since for most of history mothers raise boys who then go off and hunt, farm, build things and fight wars rather than directly contributing much new to the psyche of the next generation, the course of evolution of the psyche has overwhelmingly been dependent upon the way mothers have treated their daughters, who become the next generation of mothers. Since early emotional relationships organize the entire range of human behavior, all cultural traits do not equally affect the evolution of the psyche-those that affect the daughter's psyche represent the main narrow bottleneck through which all other cultural traits must pass. The study of the evolution of the psyche depends more on developing a maternal ecology than on studying variations in the physical environment.

The evolution of the psyche and culture has been crucially dependent upon turning the weak bonds between mother and daughter of apes and early humans[34] into genuine love for daughters (and sons). This means that historical societies that create optimal conditions for improving the crucial mother-daughter relationship by surrounding the mother with support and love soon begin to show psychological innovation and cultural advances in the next generations-so that history begins to move in progressive new directions. In contrast, societies that cripple the mother-daughter emotional relationship experience psychogenic arrest and even psychogenic devolution. Only in modern times have fathers, too, begun to contribute to the evolutionary task of growing the young child's mind.

Paralleling the term "hopeful monster" that biologists use to indicate speciating biological variations,[35] the idea that the mother-daughter emotional relationship is the focal point of epigentic evolution and the main source of novelty in the psyche can be called the "hopeful daughter" concept. When mothers love and support particularly their daughters, a series of generations can develop new childrearing practices that grow completely new neural networks, hormonal systems and behavioral traits. If hopeful daughters are instead emotionally crippled by a society, a psychogenic cul-de-sac is created, generations of mothers cannot innovate, epigenetic arrest is experienced and meaningful cultural evolution ends.[36]

For instance, in China before the tenth century A.D. men began to footbind little girls'feet as a sexual perversion, making them into sexual fetishes, penis-substitutes which the men would suck on and masturbate against during sex play.[37] Chinese literature reports the screaming cries of the five-year-old girl as she hobbles about the house for years to do her tasks while her feet are bound, because in order to make her foot tiny, her foot bones are broken and the flesh deteriorates. She loses several toes as they are bent under her foot, to emphasize the big toe as a female penis. This practice was added to the many brutal practices of what was perhaps the world's most anti-daughter culture, where over half the little girls were murdered at birth without remorse and special girl-drowning pools were legion, where beating little girls until bloody was a common parental practice, and where girl rape and sex slavery were rampant.[38] This vicious anti-daughter emotional atmosphere extreme even for a time that was generally cruel and unfeeling towards daughters was obviously not conducive to mothers producing innovations in childrearing when the little girls grew up. Therefore China which was culturally ahead of the West in many ways at the time of the introduction of footbinding-became culturally and politically "frozen" until the twentieth century, when footbinding was stopped and boy-girl sex ratios in many areas dropped from 200/100 to near equality.[39] The result was that whereas for much of its history China punished all novelty,[40] during the twentieth century rapid cultural, political and economic evolution could resume. Japan, which shared much of Chinese culture but did not adopt footbinding of daughters, avoided the psychogenic arrest of China and could therefore share in the scientific and industrial revolution as it occurred in the West.

The same kind of epigenetic arrest can be seen in the damage caused by genital mutilation of girls among circum-Mediterranean peoples that began thousands of years ago and continues today. Since "hopeful daughters" do not thrive on the chopping off of their clitorises and labias, the present cultural and political problems of those groups who still mutilate their daughters' genitals are very much a direct result of this psychogenic arrest.[41] Much of the remainder of this chapter will analyze the conditions for psychogenic arrest, when childrearing has failed to evolve and culture remains in a psychogenic cul-de-sac, static for millennia.

The historical evolution of the psyche is a process that mainly involves removing developmental distortions, so that each psyche can develop in its own way optimally. The evolution of childhood, as will be extensively documented, mainly consists of parents slowly giving up killing, abandoning, mutilating, battering, terrorizing, sexually abusing and using their children for their own emotional needs and instead creating loving conditions for growth of the self. The evolution of the psyche is first of all accomplished by removing terrible abuses of children and their resulting developmental distortions, allowing the psyche to produce historical novelty and achieve its own inherent human growth path. Civilization is not, as everyone including Freud has assumed, a historical "taming of the instincts." Nor does "the evolution of mankind proceed from bad to worse," as Roheim thought,[42] with early societies being "indulgent" toward their children and modern societies more often abusive. It will be the burden of the remainder of this book to provide evidence that just the reverse is true, that culture evolves through the increase of love and freedom for children, so that when they grow up they can invent more adaptive and happier ways of living. Because we were all children before we were adults, childhood evolution must precede social evolution, psychogenesis must precede sociogenesis.

LOVE AND FREEDOM-NOT COMPLEXITY-THE MEASURE OF EVOLUTIONARY PROGRESS

The measure of the evolution of psyche and culture is actually quite different from that assumed by most social theories. Social evolution is usually defined simply as the degree of complexity-as measured by population or social hierarchy or technology[43] with such elements as the increasing amounts of knowledge causing cultures to grow more complex.[44] But there is no evidence that modern brains contain more knowledge than those of foragers of 100,000 years ago. What has evolved is the self-located in the hippocampal-prefrontal networks-not simply the amount of knowledge stored in the cortex.[45] Contemporary foragers, for instance, know an enormous amount of ecological information the forager who knows hundreds of species of plants and animals and their characteristics probably has as many neurons in his cortex storing knowledge as most Westerners. Similarly, their cultural system cannot be said to be less complex, since it usually contains some of the most complicated kinship, belief systems and languages extant. What is less evolved is their childhoods and the personality systems dependent upon this childrearing. Societies with poor childrearing produce historical personalities-psychoclasses-that have too much anxiety and conflict to maintain good object relations, so they tend to deny their real needs-for love, for freedom, for achievement-and their cultures oppose change and do not evolve.

The psychogenic theory defines progress in evolution as increases in self awareness, freedom, human potential, empathy, love, trust, self control and a preponderance of conscious decisions-rather than as an increase in technological, economic or political complexity. This means that some cultures on low technological levels[46] could actually be further evolved in human terms than others that are more complex technologically and politically. Because the psychogenic theory makes the individual psyche both the source of variation and the unit of selection, it posits that childhood is the central focal point of social evolution. The amount of time and resources any society devotes to its children's needs is far more likely to be an accurate index of its level of civilization than any of the anthropological indices of complexity or energy utilization.

The central direction of evolutionary progress, therefore, of Homo sapiens sapiens is from personal neediness to personal independence, from family enmeshment to family caregiving, from social dependency and violence to social dependability and empathy. Although this progress is extraordinarily uneven in different contemporary cultures and even in different family lines, the general progressive direction is evident. It will be the task of the remainder of this book to document the hypothesis that the evolution of childhood has been from incest to love and from abuse to empathy, and that progress in childrearing has regularly preceded social, political and technological progress. The main thrust of the psychogenic theory of cultural evolution is simple: The evolution of culture is ultimately determined by the amount of love, understanding and freedom experienced by its children, because only love produces the individuation needed for cultural innovation. Every abandonment, every betrayal, every hateful act towards children returns tenfold a few decades later upon the historical stage, while every empathic act that helps a child become what he or she wants to become, every expression of love toward children heals society and moves it in unexpected, wondrous new directions.

PSYCHOGENESIS-THE SOURCE OF EPIGENETIC VARIATION

Psychogenesis is the process of forming historically new brain networks that develop the self and

produce innovation. It is a "bootstrapping" evolutionary process[47] that occurs in the interpersonal relationships between generations. Babies begin with the need to form intensely personal relationships with their caretakers, who in turn respond with ambivalent needs to (a) use the baby as a poison container for their projections, and (b) go beyond their own childrearing and give the child what it actually needs rather than what is being projected into it. The ability of successive generations of parents to work through their own childhood anxieties the second time around is a process much like that of psychotherapy, which also involves a return to childhood anxieties and, if successful, a reworking of them with support of the therapist into new ways of looking at others and at one's self. It is in this sense of the psychogenic process that history can be said to be a "psychotherapy of generations," producing new epigenetic, developmental variation and-because these early emotions organize the remainder of cognitive content[48] cultural evolution.

Psychogenesis is not a very robust process in caretakers. Most of the time, parents simply reinflict upon their children what had been done to them in their own childhood. The production of developmental variations can occur only in the silent, mostly unrecorded decisions by parents to go beyond the traumas they themselves endured. It happens each time a mother decides not to use her child as an erotic object, not to tie it up so long in swaddling bands, not to hit it when it cries. It happens each time a mother encourages her child's explorations and independence, each time she overcomes her own despair and neediness and gives her child a bit more of the love and empathy she herself didn't get. These private moments are rarely recorded for historians, and social scientists have completely overlooked their role in the production of cultural variation, yet they are nonetheless the ultimate sources of the evolution of the psyche and culture.

The generational pressure for epigenetic, developmental evolution does not occur in a vacuum, of course. Every social condition that impinges upon the parent-child relationship-in particular that disturbs the mother's ability to go beyond her own childrearing and give her child more love than she received-affects psychogenesis. Yet the crucial study of what social conditions have been responsible for the evolution, arrest or devolution of childrearing is a separate empirical task. One cannot simply conclude that the more complex societies become, the better (or worse) the conditions for parenting. Particularly crucial are the conditions favoring the survival of nascent variations in parent-child relationship across generations without being swamped, paralleling the problem in neo-Darwinian theory of the swamping of mutations by a large gene pool. The effects of other conditions upon childrearing are not all that obvious. Material conditions are not the most important of these; more crucial is the attitude of the society towards women and the overcoming of maternal despair. The various ways that family conditions, emotional attitudes, material factors, demographic factors, culture contact and a whole range of historical conditions change the ability of parents to achieve developmental evolution for a series of generations will be examined in detail from the historical and ethnographic record in the remainder of this book.

Cultural and psychological evolution is neither spontaneous nor inevitable, as anthropologists and historians have so often assumed.[49] One cannot simply posit a priori that "variation in individual cultural practices and perceptions exists in every community at all times, [forming] a pool of possibilities for what people will do in the immediate future."[50] There exist today many cultures whose members' personalities have not evolved very far and whose cultures have remained extraordinarily resistant to change for millennia. Because their ability to give mature

love to their children has barely evolved in thousands of generations, their systems of consciousness are developmentally arrested, and they have remained headhunters, cannibals and fierce warriors as were our own ancestors in the Paleolithic. In fact, as we will shortly see, even modern nations consist of groups of individuals who are on all levels of psychogenic evolution-that is, each nation contains all psychoclasses-because individuals are endpoints of unique family histories of childrearing evolution and devolution over thousands of generations. Your next-door neighbors are therefore nearly as likely to be psychological fossils-because their parents used brutal medieval childrearing practices-as they are to be the results of loving, helping parenting. Those who are lucky enough to have had really loving, helping mode parents stand on the shoulders of thousands of individual emotional decisions of parents about how to care for their children.

Because childrearing evolution determines the evolution of the psyche and society, the causal arrows of all other social theories are reversed by the psychogenic theory. Rather than personal and family life being seen as dragged along in the wake of social, cultural, technological and economic change, society is instead viewed as the outcome of evolutionary changes that first occur in the psyche. Because the structure of the psyche changes from generation to generation within the narrow funnel of childhood, childrearing practices are not just one item in a list of cultural traits-they are the very condition for the transmission and further development of all other cultural elements, placing limits on what can be achieved in all other social areas. Indeed our social, religious and political behavior, like our personal life, is very much a part of our human search for love, so necessary for the development of our self. Childhood must therefore always first evolve before major social, cultural and economic innovation can occur. Little by little, adults must refrain from routinely murdering, neglecting, tying up, abandoning, raping, battering and torturing generation after generation of infinitely precious children and begin instead to empathize with their quest to grow up into independent, productive individuals.

THE EVOLUTION OF PARENTING

Most parents through most of history relate to their children most of the time as poison containers, receptacles into which they project disowned parts of their psyches. In good parenting, the child uses its caretaker as a poison container-as it earlier used its mother's placenta to cleanse its poisonous blood-the good mother reacting with calming behavior to the cries of her baby, helping it "detoxify" its anxieties. But when an immature mother's baby cries, she cannot stand it, and strikes out at the child. As one battering mother put it, "I have never felt loved all my life. When my baby was born, I thought it would love me. When it cried, it meant it didn't love me. So I hit him." The child is so full of the parent's projections that it must be tightly tied up (swaddled in bandages) for its first year to prevent it from "tearing its ears off, scratching its eyes out, breaking its legs, or touching its genitals"[51] i.e., to prevent it from acting out the violent and sexual projections of the parents.

The child historically is usually either experienced as a persecutory parent ("When he screams he sounds just like my mother") or as a guilty self ("He keeps wanting things all the time"). Either way, the child must either be strictly controlled, hit or rejected, usually in ways that restage the childrearing methods of the grandparent. Since the grandmother is historically so often present in the home, strictly controlling the childrearing, it is doubly difficult to break old patterns.

Psychogenesis takes place when the parent experiences the needs of the child and, instead of restaging their own traumatic childhood, invents new ways of handling their anxieties so the child can grow and individuate in their own way. When a mother regresses to be able to experience her baby's discomfort and determine if it is hungry or wet or just wants to crawl, she reexperiences her own infancy and her own mother's fears of starving (for love) or wanting to explore and grow, and-given some support by her husband-the mother can take the enormous step of making a space for the child to crawl rather than tying it up in its swaddling bands. The process is much like the process of psychotherapy: a regression to early anxieties and a working through of them the second time around in a better manner. Psychogenesis occurs at the interface between caretaker and child. It is a private, joint process, a "psychotherapy of generations" that cures parental anxiety about growth and reduces childhood traumas…when it occurs. Psychogenesis isn't inevitable, so the psychogenic theory isn't teleological. There are in all modern nations many parents who have not evolved very much and who are still extremely abusive. In fact, there are whole cultures that did not evolve in parenting, for reasons which we will examine. But the "generational pressure" of psychogenesis-the ability of human parents to innovate better ways of childrearing and for children to strive for relationship and growth-is everywhere present, and is an independent source of change in historical personality, allowing humans to "bootstrap"[52] new neural networks that are more evolved than those of our ancestors.

Because psychic structure must always be passed from generation to generation through the narrow funnel of childhood, a society's childrearing practices are not just one item in a list of cultural traits. They are the very condition for the transmission and development of all other traits, and place definite limits on what can be achieved in any culture. This is explicitly denied by other theories of culture change, which can be summed up in Steward's dicta: "Personality is shaped by culture, but it has never been shown that culture is affected by personality."[53] It is the purpose of the remainder of this book to document that every political, religious and social trait is sustained by specific childhood experiences and that changes in personality through childrearing evolution determine the course of all cultural change.

Progress in childrearing evolution may be extremely uneven, but the trends are nonetheless unmistakable. The overall direction is from projection to empathy, from discipline to self-regulation, from hitting to explaining, from incest to love, from rejection to overcontrol and then to independence. The result is a series of closer approaches between adult and child, producing a healing of the splitting caused by extreme traumas-historical personalities slowly evolving from schizoid mechanisms[54] and separate alters that are the results of earlier childrearing modes. Thus unity of personality and individuation is an achievement only attained at the end of history, after thousands of generations of parents have slowly evolved better ways of helping children grow.

It should be possible to even measure quantitatively-in terms of hours per day, in terms of money, in terms of some more meaningful measure-the amount and even the quality of parenting effort a society devotes to its children. Just the sheer cost of raising a child in dollars has been going up so fast that it now costs a middle-class American family $1.5 million for each child over 22 years, up 20 percent in the past three decades.[55] The families I know in my section of Manhattan easily devote over half of their spare time and half their income to their children. Compare this to the small fraction of parents' time and money given over to children in earlier centuries with children even spending most of their lives working for adults in various ways and

one can begin to comprehend the overall direction of childrearing evolution. Even today, child abuse is highly correlated with income, with children in homes with incomes below $15,000 being 22 times more likely to be physically abused, 18 times more likely to be sexually abused, and 56 times more likely to be neglected than those with family incomes exceeding $30,000.[56]

Because psychogenesis is such a private process, it is rarely recorded in historical documents. Most of the documentation of what it feels like to go beyond one's own childrearing is found in mothers' letters and diaries beginning in the early modern period. It was the habit of most mothers who could afford it to send their children to wetnurse,[57] where they were left for several years:

Parents of any position saw little of their children, who were taken from their mother at birth and given in charge of a foster-mother till the age of five, when they were sent to college or to a convent until marriage was arranged.[58]

It was in England and America where well-to-do mothers first began to experiment with nursing their own children, being well aware that most children died at nurse because of lack of care and poor conditions. These mothers wrote to each other letters about the joys of nursing themselves, how babies during breastfeeding "kisseth her, strokes her haire, nose and eares [causing] an affection" to grow between mother and infant.[59] If the husband objects, saying his wife's breast belongs to him, he should be asked to hold the baby and he'll be delighted too. By contrast, in France, as late as 1780 the police chief of Paris estimated that only 700 out of the 21,000 children born each year in his city were nursed by their mothers,[60]most being sent out to French wetnurses, termed "professional feeders and professional killers."[61] Since England led the rest of Europe in ending swaddling, wetnursing and battering their children, it is no accident that soon after it also led the world in science, political democracy and industrialization.

THE SIX CHILDREARING MODES

In The History of Childhood,[62] I proposed six modes of childrearing which societies unevenly evolve. As the graph below indicates, most modern nations today contain all six stages in varying proportions. Outside of moving the dates somewhat forward when I found first evidence of the mode in the West, I continue to feel that these modes are accurate. They have been empirically confirmed by five book-length historical studies[63] in addition to the over 100 scholarly articles on the history of childhood during the past 26 years in The Journal of Psychohistory.[64] The following chart summarizes the historical evidence on childrearing modes presented in this and the next four chapters of this book.

1a. Early Infanticidal Mode (small kinship groups): This mode is characterized by high infanticide rates, maternal incest, body mutilation, child rape, tortures and emotional abandonment by parents when the child is not useful as a an erotic object or as a poison container. The father is too immature to act as a real caretaker and is emotionally absent. Prepubertal marriage of little girls is common, similar to cults like The Children of God.[65] The schizoid personality structure of the infanticidal mode is dominated by alters, in which adults spend much of their time in ritual and magical projects, so they are not able to evolve beyond foraging and early horticultural economic levels nor beyond Big Men political organization.[66]

1b. Late Infanticidal Mode (chiefdom to early states): Though infanticide rates remain high and child rape is still often routine-particularly royal and pedagogic pederasty[67] the young child is not as much rejected by the mother, and the father begins to be involved with instruction of the older child. Child sacrifice as a guilt-reducing device for social progress is found in early states as the use of children as poison containers became more socially organized. Infant restrictions devices such as swaddling and cradle boards begin, sibling caretakers replace child gangs and sibling incest is widespread. Various institutionalized schemes for care by others become popular, such as adoption, wetnursing, fosterage, and the use of the children of others as servants.[68] Beating is now less impulsive and used as discipline, and because the child is now closer emotionally and used more for farming chores, discipline becomes more controlling and brutal, leading to complex societies whose innovations are paid for by genocidal slaughter and the enslavement of women and children.[69]

2. Abandoning Mode (beginning with early Christianity): Once the child is thought as having a soul at birth, routine infanticide becomes emotionally difficult. Early Christians were considered odd in antiquity: "they marry like everybody else, they have children, but they do not practice the exposure of new-born babes."[70] These Christians began Europe's two-millennia-long struggle against infanticide, replacing it with abandonment, from oblation of young children to monasteries, a more widespread use of swaddling, wetnurses if one could afford them, fosterage, wandering scholars and child servants. Child sacrifice was replaced by joining in the group-fantasy of the sacrifice of Christ, who was sent by his father as a poison container to be killed for the sins of others. Pederasty continued, especially in monasteries, and girl rape was widespread. The child was thought to be born full of evil, the parent's projections, so was beaten early and severely. Abusive child care was not mainly due to economics, since the rich as well as the poor during the middle ages had high infanticide, abandonment, sexual molestation and physical abuse rates.[71] The borderline personality structure of Christianity stresses clinging to authority figures as defense against emotional abandonment and constant warfare against enemies to punish others for their own imagined sinfulness for deserving abandonment.[72]

3. Ambivalent Mode (beginning in the twelfth century): The twelfth century ended the oblation of children to monasteries, began child instruction manuals, began to punish child rape, expanded schooling, expanded pediatrics, saw child protection laws, and began to tolerate ambivalence-both love and hate-for the child, marking the beginnings of toleration of a child's independent rights. The child was seen less as a sinful poison container and more as soft wax or clay that could be beaten into whatever shape the parent wished. The reduction of splitting defenses of the late medieval narcissistic personality structure produced the advances in technology and the rise of cities associated with the period and eventually the rise of the early modern state.[73]

4. Intrusive Mode (beginning in the sixteenth century): The intrusive parent began to unswaddle the child and even the wealthy began to bring up the infant themselves rather than sending it elsewhere or at least have the wetnurse come in to the home thus allowing closer emotional bonds with parents to form. The sixteenth century particularly in England represents a watershed in reduction of parental projections, when parents shifted from trying to stop childrens' growth to trying only to control it and make it "obedient." The freedom of being allowed to crawl around rather than being swaddled and hung on a peg and the individuation of

separate child beds and separate child regimens meant parents approached closer to their children and could give them love as long as they controlled their minds, their insides, their anger, their lives. The child raised by intrusive parents was nursed by his or her mother, not swaddled, not given regular enemas but toilet trained early, prayed with but not played with, hit but not battered, punished for masturbation but not masturbated, taught and not sent out as servants to others and made to obey promptly with threats and guilt as often as physical means of punishment.[74] True empathy begins with intrusive mode parents, producing a general improvement in the level of care and reduced child mortality, leading to the early modern demographic transition to later marraige, fewer births and more investment in each child. The end of arranged marriages, the growth of married love and the decline of domestic violence also contributed to the child's ability to achieve emotional growth.[75] A healing of splitting and an increase in individuation produced the scientific, political and economic revolutions of the early modern period, so much so that some British and American parents were often called "strange" by visitors because they "pampered" their children so much and hit them so little.[76] Men didn't cling to their hypermasculine social alters as much and discovered they had a "private self" that was emotionally involved with their family life.[77]

5. Socializing Mode (beginning in the eighteenth century): Obviously something new had entered the world when society could claim that "God planted this deep, this unquenchable love for her offspring in the mother's heart."[78] During this period the number of children most women had dropped from seven or eight to three or four, long before any medical discoveries were made in limiting reproduction,[79] because parents now wanted to be able to give more care to each child. Their aim, however, remained instilling their own goals into the child rather than producing individuation: "Is there not a strange fullness of joy in watching the reproduction of your traits, physical, mental and moral, in your child?"[80] The use of mainly psychological manipulation, along with spanking of little children, remains the most popular model of "socialization" of parents in Western European nations and the Americas today, training the child to assume its role in the parents' society.[81] The socializing mode built the modern world, and its values of nationalism and economic class-dominated representative democracy represent the social models of most people today.[82]

6. Helping Mode (beginning mid-twentieth century): The helping mode involves acknowledging that the parents' main role is to help the child reach at each stage of its life its own goals, rather than being socialized into adult goals. Parents for the first time consider raising children not a chore but a joy. Both mother and father are equally involved with the child from infancy helping him or her become a self-directed person. Children are given unconditional love, are not struck and are apologized to if yelled at under stress. The helping mode involves a lot of time and energy by parents and other helpers during the child's early years, taking their cues from the child itself as it pursues its developmental course. Birth rates tend to drop below replacement as each child is recognized as requiring a great deal of attention. The helping psychoclass, though few in number today, is far more empathic toward others and less driven by material success than earlier generations. Though Dr. Spock's child care book was late socializing mode,[83] some of the "Spock generation" adolescents after the mid-century were actually products of helping mode parents and felt empowered to explore their own unique social roles and go beyond nationalism, war and economic inequality.

Parents from each of the six childrearing modes co-exist in modern nations today. Indeed, much of political conflict occurs because of the vastly different value systems and vastly different tolerance for freedom of the six psychoclasses. Cyclical swings between liberal and reactionary periods are an outcome of a process whereby more evolved psychoclasses introduce more innovation into the world than less evolved psychoclasses can tolerate. The latter try then to "turn the clock back" and reinstate less anxious social conditions to reduce their growth anxiety, and when this fails, the nation attempts to "cleanse the world of its sinfulness" through a war or depression.

THE PSYCHOGENIC PUMP

The psychogenic pump effect is how evolving parents can avoid the swamping of variety in childrearing. A mother who wants to try to leave her child unswaddled after only a few months rather than after a full year finds her own mother and every other mother around her is vigorously opposed to her innovation. Sometimes opposition can actually be lethal. I once asked Arthur Hippler, the Editor of my Journal of Psychological Anthropology, if he had ever met a more evolved Athabascan mother than the generally infanticidal mothers he had been interviewing in Alaska. He said he had; she was far more empathic than the other mothers. He said the other mothers shunned her and shut her out of activities, which would in earlier times have been tantamount to death in such a severe environment. But most more evolved Athabascans migrated south, with the result that those who settled along the northeast coast of America had better childrearing and more advanced cultures than those that remained in Alaska.[84]

The effects of the psychogenic pump in preserving variety can be seen in a variety of similar historical migration patterns of parents practicing more advanced childrearing modes:

1. The migration of colonists into New England contained more advanced parents and more numerous hopeful daughters than those in families who stayed behind, since the most advanced childrearing -the intrusive mode-was being practiced by the Puritans who were chased out of England or who emigrated to escape "unreasonable authority."[85] The result was, as Condorcet put it, Americans seemed to have "stepped out of history," because they had less infanticide, less wetnursing, shorter swaddling and better parent-child relations than European parents at the time. The psychogenic pump, however, mainly applied to New England parents those who migrated further south usually did not do so as intact families and contained far more bachelor latter-born sons, servants and others who were not escaping from religious persecution.[86] Therefore, the South lagged the North in their level of childrearing, a condition that eventually led to the American Civil War.

2. The migration of more advanced parents in Europe in general took place from east to west, as migrating farmer populations moved from Asia to Western Europe,[87] displaced foragers and tried innovative living arrangements compared to those that stayed behind. This is the ultimate reason why Eastern Europe even today remains far behind Western Europe and the United States in childrearing and in democracy and industrialization.

3. The same principle of "those who emigrate contain the more advanced parents" applies to why Central and South American Indians had more advanced childrearing and more evolved cultures than those of North America.

4. Jews who had immigrated into Europe were more advanced in childrearing, so much so that they had to be sacrificed in the Holocaust as representatives of too much innovation and growth. Jews since antiquity didn't just "disperse" (diaspora), they differentially migrated, with those with more advanced parenting modes striking out to new homes, where their success made them scapegoats for the growth fears of others.

5. The psychogenic pump favors extremities, peripherally isolated areas that capture late arrivals, the most innovative parents and the most hopeful daughters. (Biological speciation, too, favors peripherally isolated communities.)[88] The most advanced childrearing in Europe was in England and the most advanced in Asia was in Japan, both large islands at the extreme western and eastern ends of the Eurasian land mass, both settled late by immigrant farmers. Japan, in fact, developed agriculture extremely late, only two thousand years ago,[89] when the most advanced families in Asia migrated from Korea. "Those that stayed behind" in China, in Eastern Europe-were swamped by less evolved childrearing modes and were therefore more subject to psychogenic arrest or even devolution. In contrast, many of the world's most advanced cultures-such as the Hawaiians or the ancient Greeks-were products of late-arriving migrants, more advanced parenting styles, who turned unpromising peripheral evironments into distinctive, innovative civilizations.

PSYCHOGENIC DEVOLUTION

One of the hardest thing to understand in studying childhood history is how parenting can stay the same for millennia or sometimes even get worse. How can a Balkan peasant mother today as in antiquity kill their newborn or tightly bind her baby to a cradle and keep it isolated in a dark room for a year or more, oblivious of its screams?[90] How can most fathers today still batter their little kids? Is empathy for children so fragile? Why does psychogenic evolution not take place, even devolve? Why have a portion of parents in every society remained at the infanticidal and abandoning modes? What happened in previous generations that extinguished the evolution of parental love so thoroughly?

People throughout history defend against their despair by finding poison containers to restage their early traumas. Men do so mainly by going to war and torturing, enslaving and killing sacrificial victims. But women only have their children to torture, enslave and kill. One thing is clear: the cause is not merely economic since the rich tortured and killed their children just as the poor did. Indeed, the most massive genocide in the world-never recognized as such because children are not considered human by historians-has been the parental holocaust, the killing, binding, battering, raping, mutilating and torturing of children throughout history, numbering billions not just millions of innocent, helpless human beings. It is this untold story of the genocide of a whole class of human beings that will be fully told for the first time in this book. But just as there are few good psychological studies of Nazis during the Jewish Holocaust-because it is so difficult to empathize enough with victimizers to understand their motives-so too there are few good studies of parents in history who murdered, beaten and tortured their children, since it is hard to identify enough with them to analyze their motives. Determining the psychodynamics of parents who have stayed the same for thousands of generations while others around them have been evolving is doubly difficult, since one must deal with both the paucity of the historical record of the parental cruelty and also the denial and anger stemming from one's own feelings.

The key to understanding psychogenic arrest and devolution must lie in comprehending the historical relationship of mothers to their daughters-a totally unresearched area, even for feminist historians. Sometimes men who oppose all social change instinctively recognize they must kill off all hopeful daughters-as today when Islamic fundamentalists drag out of class all the girls they find in schools and slaughter them.[91] The study of the multigenerational effects of trauma is just beginning.[92] But usually the conditions that maim the psyches of hopeful daughters are simply part of the cultural practices of the society and go unrecognized as crippling evolution. When thirty-year-old men in antiquity insisted on marrying prepubertal girls because they were afraid of women their own age, when medieval mothers prostituted their daughters either to the local priest or to the whole community, when mothers fed their daughters less or gave them less medical attention than boys because girls who grew up needed dowries, when brothers in Eastern European zadruga routinely used each others' daughters sexually, when Chinese men bound the feet of little girls to use as sexual objects or circum-Mediterranean mothers chopped off the genitals of their little girls, psychogenic devolution was the inevitable result.

Using children as poison containers can reach intolerable limits, either as a result of intolerable conditions such as war or drought or even as a result of social progress, when parents react with extreme growth panic and use their children to relieve their anxieties. Sometimes historical tragedies like these are evident, as when children were abandoned by the millions in revolutionary Russia and were forced to live as prostitutes and criminals for decades after, many even today living abandoned in Russia's main cities.[93] Psychogenic devolution is often a result of attempts to "leap forward," as when China killed 30 million people as a result of the famine caused by the Great Leap Forward-in fact, some areas of China devolved so far that they regressed to cannibalism.[94] But sometimes the "war on children" resulting from too much change can be documented in more specific detail.

When serfdom ended in Hungary in the 1840s, women in rural areas responded by concluding that at last they were to be free. But, they feared, women cannot be free if they have so many children, so "there was a panic reaction and a brutal, drastic reduction of family size was put speedily into practice, first by simple infanticide and crude abortion techniques and later by the one-child system."[95] Although poverty was not a problem in the area, for a full century mothers became baby killers, so that "families shank into non-existence, leaving house and farm vacant" to adhere to a norm that "became irrational and, indeed, suicidal for entire families, villages and ethnic groups…"[96] In what has been called "a Terrible Matriarchy," killing mothers established a "dark belt of one-child-system villages,"[97] by crude abortion techniques with sharp objects and winding ropes tightly around the mother's body and soaking them in water, by strangling or freezing babies, even by mothers-in-law "sleeping with the young couple to ensure they did not have intercourse…"[98]

Growth panic from progress being turned against children is an everyday phenomena, only no one recognizes it because no one sees children as poison containers for adult anxieties. Times of prosperity and progress are often times when poor children are used as scapegoats. While the average income of the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans rose 72 percent between 1977 and 1994, and while the average income of the highest-earning 20 percent rose 25 percent, that of the poorest 25 percent shrank 16 percent, throwing millions more children under the poverty line while cutting welfare benefits.[99] Yet the question remains: why are some societies and some

family lines so far behind in improving childrearing? To begin to answer this crucial question, we will first analyze what childhood is really like in simpler societies.

THE IDEALIZATION OF CHILDHOOD IN SIMPLE SOCIETIES

Unfortunately for the psychogenic theory, nearly all social scientists currently agree that there is an inverse relationship between childrearing and social evolution, with parents becoming less loving and more abusive as cultures move from simple to complex societies.[100] Agreeing with Rousseau and Freud, most anthropologists today see civilization as being achieved at the expense of childhood freedom and nurturance, with the quality of child care going straight downhill and becoming more punitive and less nurturing as societies become more complex. Rohner, for instance, concludes from his cross-cultural review of parenting from the Human Relations Area Files that virtually all mothers in simpler societies are "warm and nurturant toward their children,"101 so that "The more complex a sociocultural system is, the less warm parents in general tend to be…"[102] Whiting analyzes the results of hundreds of anthropological studies of childhood as follows: "children in simple cultures are high on nurturance and low on egoism, whereas children brought up in complex cultures are egoistic and not very nurturant."[103] Stephens summarizes the current state of academic opinion:

> When one reads an ethnographic account of child rearing in a primitive society, one will usually find some statement to the effect that the people 'love their babies'…the ethnographer seems amazed at the amount of affection, care, attention, indulgence, and general 'fuss' lavished upon infants and young children…[104]

Now when I first discovered, in the anthropology course I took with Margaret Mead at Columbia University over four decades ago, that anthropologists were unanimous in thinking that childhood had evolved from nurturant and loving to neglectful and abusive as the level of civilization increased, I was puzzled as to how anyone could at the same time think that childhood had any effect on adult personality, since this meant that the cannibals, headhunters and warriors I was studying had supposedly had wonderful loving, nurturant childhoods. I soon began to question the accuracy of all these cross-cultural studies of childrearing, and asked whether those who classified techniques of parenting[105] could have been actually coding the degrees of distortion and denial of the anthropologists rather than what was really happening to children.

When I found the same unanimity regarding loving childrearing in past times among historians, equally unsupported by careful historical evidence, I began combing primary sources myself to find out the truth about what it must have felt like to have been a child both in the past and in other cultures. With ethnological accounts, of course, I was wholly dependent upon the reports of the anthropologists, since I could not myself observe at first hand the childrearing practices of hundreds of cultures. So rather than relying on selective Human Relations Area File cards, I constructed my own more extensive files over the next three decades from reports of the ethnologists who had said anything about childrearing, being careful to separate their glowing adjectives from the descriptions of events they actually saw happen. I extended these files with personal contacts with many of the anthropologists in connection with my Journal of Psychoanalytic Anthropology.

When I began publishing the results of my research into both historical and cross-cultural childhoods, documenting how childhood both in the past and in other cultures had been massively idealized, both historians and anthropologists concluded that I surely must have been mad. As Melvin Konner put it in his book Childhood:

Lloyd deMause, then editor of the History of Childhood Quarterly, claimed that all past societies treated children brutally, and that all historical change in their treatment has been a fairly steady improvement toward the kind and gentle standards we now set and more or less meet. His 1974 book begins, "The history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken. The further back in history one goes, the lower the level of child care, and the more likely children are to be killed, abandoned, beaten, terrorized, and sexually abused."

Now anthropologists-and many historians as well-were slack-jawed and nearly speechless. Studies of parents, children, and the family in cultures on every inhabited continent had turned up not a single case-with one or two possible exceptions-of extant patterns of child care that corresponded to the brutal neglectful approach these historians were assigning to all the parents of the past.

On the contrary, serious students of the anthropology of childhood beginning with Margaret Mead have called attention to the pervasive love and care lavished on children in many traditional cultures. They even found much Westerners could admire and possibly emulate.[106]

The only way to disprove this widespread opinion about parenting in traditional cultures is to examine what anthropologists have written and see whether their evidence actually shows something other than "pervasive love and care lavished on children." In order that the effects of culture contact with the West may be kept to a minimum, I will concentrate on New Guinea, with a few forays into nearby areas, because here Western contact was both late and minimal as compared with Africa and other areas.

THE INFANTICIDAL MODE OF CHILDREARING IN NEW GUINEA

I have termed[107] the earliest mode of childrearing the infanticidal mode because parents who routinely resolve their anxieties about taking care of their children by killing them without remorse also convey this attitude to their other children by demonstrating throughout their lives that their personal existence is not important to them except as the children satisfy the needs of the parents.

As in most simple cultures, New Guinea mothers can be considered infanticidal mode because they kill a third or more of their newborn-so that most mothers have killed one or more of their children. Though the practice is common, it is usually downplayed by anthropologists-Margaret Mead, for instance, kept infanticide out of her published reports, but wrote in her letters home such observations as "we've had one corpse float by, a newborn infant; they are always throwing away infants here…"[108] Some sense of its dimensions can be seen in the imbalance of males over females at birth, ratios which run from 120-160 to 100.[109] Since both male and female newborn are killed, this ratio obviously only reflects the amount of excess female infanticide, so the combined rate of infanticide is even higher. These high rates are common to the culture area; Birdsell, for instance, estimated that the Australian Aborigines destroyed as many as 50 percent

of all infants[110] and the first missionaries in Polynesia estimated that two-thirds of the children were murdered by their parents."[111] Another study cites an average sex ratio of 159 to 100 for children 1-5 years, which means most families killed at least one child.[112] Anthropologists commonly pass over these statistics quickly, since high infanticide rates do not reflect well upon their "pervasive love" claim. For instance, Herdt claims that "Sambia love children, and it is hard to imagine that infanticide was done except in desperate circumstances."[113] He then says that "throughout New Guinea, males outnumber females at birth, often in high ratios…For Sambia, the birthrate ratio is 120 male births to 100 female births." Despite this out-of-balance birthrate ratio, Herdt claims "There was no female infanticide,"[114] a biological impossibility.

Although anthropologists commonly excuse infanticide as required by "necessity" and don't count it as part of the homicide rate their informants themselves report otherwise when asked why they kill their infants, stating they killed them because "children are too much trouble,"[115] because the mothers were angry at their husbands,[116] because they are "demon children,"[117] because the baby "might turn out to be a sorcerer,"[118] "because her husband would go to another woman" for sex if she had to nurse the infant,[119] because they didn't want babies to tie them down in their sexual liaisons,[120] because it was a female and must be killed because "they leave you in a little while"[121] or "they don't stay to look after us in our old age."[122] Infanticide by mothers can be thought of as an early form of post-partum depression. Siblings commonly watch their mothers kill their siblings and are sometimes forced to take part in the murder. In many tribes, the newborn is "tossed to the sows, who promptly devour it. The woman then takes one of the farrows belonging to the sow who first attacked her baby's corpse and nurses it at her breast."[123] Pigs, by the way, are commonly nursed by women at their breasts,[124] then often used for sacrificial purposes and discarded thus disproving the notion that infanticide is made necessary because of lack of breast milk. Even when the baby is buried, it is often found by other children: "the mother…buries it alive in a shallow hole that the baby's movements may be seen in the hole as it is suffocating and panting for breath; schoolchildren saw the movements of such a dying baby and wanted to take it out to save it. However, the mother stamped it deep in the ground and kept her foot on it…"[125]

Anthropologists often report the infanticidal actions of New Guinea mothers without noticing what they are actually doing. As a typical instance, Willey reports in his book Assignment New Guinea that a group of mothers were gathered outside the police station to protest some government action, yelling, "Kill our children." Willey says, "One woman in the front line hurled her baby at the police, shouting, "'Go on, kill my child!' When the senior officer caught it and handed it back to the mother, she held it up and yelled, 'Kill my baby.'"[126] Invariably, these mothers are reported as very loving, not infanticidal.

In some parts of New Guinea and Australia, mothers are both child murderers and cannibals, who commonly kill both their own and others' children and feed them to their siblings.[127] The most complete description of the practice comes from Roheim:

It had been the custom for every second child to be eaten by the preceding child…When the Yumu, Pindupi, Ngali, or Nambutji were hungry, they ate small children with neither ceremonial nor animistic motives. Among the southern tribes, the Matuntara, Mularatara, or Pitjentara, every second child was eaten in the belief that the strength of the first child would be doubled…[My

informants] had, each of them, eaten one of their brothers….They eat the head first, then the arms, feet, and finally the body. Jankitji, Uluru and Aldinga have all eaten their siblings….Daisy Bates writes: 'Baby cannibalism was rife among these central-western people…In one group…every woman who had a baby had killed and eaten it, dividing it with her sisters, who in turn killed their children at birth and returned the gift of food, so that the group had not preserved a single living child for some years. When the frightful hunger for baby meat overcame the mother before or at the birth of the baby, it was killed and cooked regardless of sex.'"[128]

Roheim states with great conviction though providing no evidence that the children who were forced to eat their siblings "are the favored ones who started life with no oral trauma,"[129] that eating one's siblings "doesn't seem to have affected the personality development" of these children,[130] and that "these are good mothers who eat their own children."[131] When I suggested in Foundations of Psychohistory[132] that it was doubtful that children remained unaffected by being forced to join in their mother's killing and eating of their siblings, a reviewer, Robert Paul, editor of Ethos, the journal of psychological anthropology, was adamant that no one may question Roheim's rosy conclusions:

Remember that the anthropologist in question here is Roheim himself, who can hardly be accused of being psychoanalytically unsophisticated, or of denying or resisting. Indeed, deMause readily accepts his reportage about the facts. Why does he question his conclusion? Roheim was nobody's fool. If deMause, sitting in New York, knows better than Roheim what is "aboriginal reality," then once again we are back in never-never land and not in the realm of empirical science.[133]

Most ethnologists avoid describing how these children feel about participating in the killing or eating of their siblings. Lindenbaum simply says of the Fore tribe that "cannibalism was largely limited to adult women [and] to children of both sexes"[134] but doesn't mention that the mothers force the children to eat human flesh and doesn't say how they reacted to this. Gillison reports that Gimi mothers feed the flesh to their older children and say it is "the sweetest thing…'You are still a small boy,' my mother said to me, 'so let me give you this.' And she gave me some meat….A woman might have partaken of her own son, some women allowed, but she left the cutting to her co-wives, daughters, or daughters of her co-wives. 'His mother ate the penis,' one woman said…"[135] Only Poole actually reported the reaction of one group of New Guinea children to their witnessing of their parents eating some children:

Having witnessed their parents' mortuary anthropophagy, many of these children suddenly avoided their parents, shrieked in their presence, or expressed unusual fear of them. After such experiences, several children recounted dreams or constructed fantasies about animal-man beings with the faces or other features of particular parents who were smeared with blood and organs.[136]

Since Poole's children had only witnessed their parents' cannibalism, those children who are forced to actually join in and help kill and then eat their siblings can be expected to show even more internalization of murderous monsters and life-long fears of devouring witches fears which, unsurprisingly, are common to most New Guinea cultures. These infanticidal societies are in fact identical to contemporary cults that force children to murder and even eat the flesh of babies, with profound life-long traumatic effects upon their psyches-cult rituals which in a series of

articles in The Journal of Psychohistory have been demonstrated to be well-documented, eyewitnessed, brought to court and criminal convictions obtained from skeptical juries in a majority of the cases studied.[137]

Individuals or groups who murder and eat babies are in fact severely schizoid personalities[138] who handle their own rage, engulfment fears and devouring emotional demands by either murdering children to wipe out the demands they project into them or by eating them in order to act out their identification with devouring internal alters. Indeed, anthropologists are only reflecting their own denial rather than looking at the evidence when they conclude that the ubiquitous infanticide in New Guinea is really a good thing for children because then "children are desired and highly valued [because] there is no such thing as an unwanted child."[139]

As one step beyond their need to murder children, infanticidal societies are commonly found to treat children as erotic objects, again in a perverse attempt to deal with their own severe anxieties, repeatedly sexually abusing them in incest, pederasty and rape. It is to this sexual use of babies and older children in New Guinea that we will now turn.

INCEST AND THE SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN IN NEW GUINEA

As with infanticide, the sexual abuse of children is widely reported by anthropologists, but in positive terms: maternal incest is seen as indulging the infant's sexual needs, oral and anal rape of boys is described as both desirable and as desired by the boys and rape of both girls and boys is presented as an unmotivated "cultural" artifact. I will begin with the use by mothers of their infants as erotic objects.

Anthropologists maintain that "the incest taboo is the very foundation of culture"[140] and that "the taboo on incest within the immediate family is one of the few known cultural universals."[141] The culturally-approved sexual use of children, therefore, must be renamed wherever it is found as something other than incest. Ford and Beach's widely-cited Patterns of Sexual Behavior makes this false distinction clear: incest, they say, "excludes instances in which mothers or fathers are permitted to masturbate or in some other sexual manner to stimulate their very young children,"[142] then going on to call incest rare. The authoritative Growing Up: A Cross-Cultural Encyclopedia covers 87 cultures in which it says there is no incest, just adults playing with, stroking, masturbating and sucking their baby's genitals: "Truk adults play with an infant's genitals…In China, Manchu mothers tickle the genitals of their little daughters and suck the penis of a small son…in Thailand, a Banoi mother habitually strokes her son's genitals."[143]But again this isn't incest. Davenport's cross-cultural study similarly concludes that "Mother-son incest is so rare that it is insignificant and irrelevant [since] genital stimulation as a means of pacifying a child may be regarded as nonsexual…"[144] Konker reviews cross-cultural adult-child sexual relations and finds that "the ethnographic record contains many…examples of normative adult/child sexual contact" but said this isn't a problem since experts have found there is "no reason to believe that sexual contact between an adult and child is inherently wrong or harmful."[145] Korbin's Child Abuse and Neglect: Cross-Cultural Perspectives likewise finds that mothers masturbating children is widespread in her large sample, but she says it is not incest since the society doesn't call it incest:

In some societies, children's genitals are fondled to amuse and please them, calm them or lull them to sleep…This would not constitute 'abuse' if in that society the behavior was not proscribed and was not for the purposes of adult sexual satisfaction, even if the adult tangentially experienced some degree of pleasure.[146]

Since the use of infants and children as erotic objects is so common cross-culturally,[147] it is not surprising that New Guinea adults also commonly use their children sexually. Babies in particular are treated as if they were breasts, to be sucked and masturbated all day long. Whenever ethnologists mention childhood in any detail, they often begin with such comments as, "My strongest impression among women was created by their incessant fondling of infants"[148] or "As babies and small children their genitalia are fondled."[149] As with most infanticidal mothers, this sexual fondling most often occurs when the mother is nursing the baby (or even older child, mothers nursing until the child is three to six years of age), since nursing is highly erotic, occurring over a hundred times a day or as often as the mother needs the stimulation to overcome her depression.[150]Gillison describes the process of masturbating infants among the Gimi:

The mother insists upon continued contact, interrupting her toddler's play repeatedly to offer the breast. Masturbation…with a baby girl [occurs when] the mother or amau holds her hand over the vulva and shakes it vigorously. She may kiss the vagina, working her way up the middle of the body to the lips and then inserting her nipple (often when the child has given no sign of discontent). With a boy, she kisses the penis, pulls at it with her fingers and takes it into her mouth to induce an erection. Several women may pass a baby boy back and forth, each one holding him over her head as she takes a turn sucking or holding the penis in her mouth. When the child then pulls at his own organ, the women, greatly amused, offer squeezes and pulls of their own.[151]

Many ethnologists in the New Guinea-Australian area notice the connection between nursing and the erotic use of infants, first describing the mother putting her nipple into the baby's mouth whenever it cries, even if it is not hungry, while massaging her other breast and "caressing the fleshy parts of its body…and implanting breathy kisses over and over again in the region of its genital organs."[152] Only Hippler, however, notices the incestuous trance the Yolngu mother goes into while nursing and masturbating her child:

the child is sexually stimulated by the mother…Penis and vagina are caressed…clearly the action arouses the mother. Many mothers develop blissful smiles or become quite agitated (with, we assume, sexual stimulation) and their nipples apparently harden during these events. Children…are encouraged to play with their mothers' breasts, and…are obviously stimulated sexually…[153]

Maternal incest, like other sexual perversions, will often also reveal the sadism of the mother as she uses the child as an erotic sadistic object to overcome her depression and despair-which is rooted in her own loveless childhood. As Poole reports, "It should be noted that these erotic acts are often somewhat rough. Mothers' stimulation of the penis may involve pulling, pinching, and twisting in a manner that produces struggling and crying in infant boys. Also, I have treated many women whose nipples had been bruised and lacerated by their infants."[154] Similarly, in addition to masturbation during nursing, Roheim reports that mothers will sometimes "lie on

their sons in the [female on top] position and freely masturbate them" at night.[155] That all this masturbation of children by parents is socially acceptable is shown by how often the mothers do it in front of the anthropologist.[156] This helps explain why children in the area spend so much of their time when playing with dolls making them repeat over and over again the cunnilingus, masturbation, anal penetration, intercourse and other incestuous acts which their parents had inflicted on them: "their only, and certainly their supreme, game was coitus."[157]

The incestuous use of children in New Guinea and Australia extends to the other Melanesian and Polynesian islands, although as the societies become more complex the sexual practices become more ritualized. For instance, in the Marquesas Islands, besides simple masturbation of infants,[158] "the mons Veneris is massaged during infancy and girlhood…accompanied by stretching of the labia to elongate them. This was done by the mother during the daily bath. The child was seized by the ankles and its legs held apart while the mother manipulated the labia with her lips."[159] In Hawaii, a "blower" is designated for each male infant, ostensibly to prepare him for subincision of the foreskin, and "the penis was blown into daily starting from birth. The blowing was said to loosen and balloon the foreskin [and] continued daily…until the young male was 6 or 7."[160]For infant females in Hawaii, "milk was squirted into her vagina, and the labia were pressed together. The mons was rubbed with candlenut oil and pressed with the palm of the hand to flatten it…the molding continued until the labia did not separate. This chore usually was done by the mother…"[161] The Ponapé islanders "pulled and tugged at the labia of the little girls to lengthen them, while men pulled on the clitoris, rubbing it and licking it with their tongues and stimulating it by the sting of a big ant…"[162] This oral manipulation of the labia and clitoris extends to many of the other Pacific islands.[163]

Mothers are not the only ones to use their infants as sexual objects. Although fathers in New Guinea are often reported avoiding their infants during the nursing years because they say they get sexually aroused when they watch them nurse,[164] when they do handle their infants, they too are reported as using them erotically. In the New Guinea Highlands, Langness reports "There was a great deal of fondling of the boys' penes by males. Women fondled infants but not older boys. Individuals of both sexes would pick up infants and mouth their genitals…"[165]" Like all other anthropologists who report the regular masturbating and sucking of children's genitals, he calls this love: "Any adult is apt to love and fondle any child almost at random."[166] Roheim, too, describes similarly widespread oral-genital contact by fathers: "The father…stimulates [his children] sexually at a very early period while they are still being carried. He playfully smells the vagina or touches it with his mouth; with the boys he playfully bites the penis…"[167] It is this common use of the child as a breast by the father that is mistaken by so many anthropologists as "close, loving fathering" in New Guinea and elsewhere.

Virtually all anthropologists report the long maternal nursing period of from three to six years as "nurturant" and "loving," assuming without evidence that this universal incessant nursing is done to satisfy the child's needs, not the mother's. Only one, Gilbert Herdt, interviewing the Sambia with the help of the psychoanalyst Robert J. Stoller, asked the mothers directly about their sexual feelings during nursing. The Sambia, like most New Guinea groups, have prolonged postpartum taboos that prohibit couples from engaging in coitus for at least two and a half years following the birth of each child.[168] Anthropologists always portray these postpartum prohibitions as unexplained "cultural beliefs," as though there were no personal motive for them, but in fact they

are simply practices chosen to express the mothers' desire to use their children rather than their spouses for sexual arousal. Since a taboo this long means women choose to have sex with their children rather than their husbands for much of their lives, it is obvious that they are unable to achieve the level of mature love relationships, and instead, like other incestuous individuals, need to have sex with children in order to counter deep feelings of depression.[169] Like all infanticidal mothers, New Guinea mothers, unloved themselves in childhood, feared as polluted by her society, devoid of intimacy with her husband, needs her children rather than loves them.

The motive for New Guinea maternal incest is clearest in the case of the Sambia, for the mothers in this group report regularly having orgasms during nursing.[170] Herdt's informants told him that when they breast-fed their children they felt orgasms that were "the same" as when having intercourse with a man,[171] and that "all the women feel that…not just me…all of them do."[172] So powerful is this ability to orgasm during nursing that even thinking about nursing can provide sexual excitement for the mother:

P: Then my baby thinks, "My mother doesn't bring back my milk quickly, so I am crying and crying waiting for her." He cries and cries and waits. And when he thinks that, then my breasts have to have an imbimboogu [orgasm].

H: You're saying that at that time, that's when you're feeling imbimboogu, when you walk about?

P: Yeah…I'm hot in the nipples, inside.[173]

Herdt asks Stoller what this means, saying "as she's walking back to the hamlet, she has this experience she's calling an orgasm. I mean, it doesn't, can't…sound believable."[174] Stoller reports that occasionally "women in our society report genuine orgasms with suckling,"[175] though this is rare compared to the mothers in New Guinea.[176]

Since Poole was the only New Guinea ethnologist who interviewed both mothers and children, he obtained the most complete reports of maternal incest.[177] Like infanticidal psychoclass mothers everywhere, Bimin-Kuskusmin mothers consider their babies to be part of their own bodies, "never permitting the infant to be detached from contact with her body" and breastfeeding the baby "not only on demand, but also sometimes by force," whenever the mother needs the stimulation.[178] Mothers, Poole says, constantly masturbate the penes of their baby boys, while trying not to let their incest get out of hand:

She is expected to masturbate him periodically to ensure the growth of his genitalia, but she must carefully avoid the excessive development of erotic 'infant lust' which may injure his finiik [spirit]…When mothers rub the penes of their infant sons, the little boys wriggle on their mothers' laps and have erections. These tiny erections bring laughter. It is play. It will make their penes big when they are older. But 'infantile lust' can become too strong and can damage the growing "spirit or life-force" (finiik) of little boys. You will see mothers and sons together in this way everywhere.[179]

Much of the ribald joking among mothers is for the purpose of denying that the erotic use of the child is in fact incest-it is blamed on the infant's "lust" only-for only "bad" mothers "are believed to stimulate their sons beyond the bounds of 'infantile lust' in order to satisfy their own sexual desires…"[180] Those mothers who completely give in to their own "lust" are called "witches" who are said to be "driven…to destroy all aspects of masculinity through jealousy and rage"[181] a condition all women can fall into, particularly when they are young, inexperienced mothers or are treated harshly by their husband's family. In order to prove that she isn't being too lustful,

mothers deliberately cover their breasts with bark cloth when they are stimulating the penis in a ritually prescribed manner. Indeed, this often highly ostentatious act of covering the breasts is a display to an ever-watchful public that the mother is acting properly in tending her son. On occasion, I have witnessed older women admonish a young mother for failing to cover her breasts when rubbing her son's genitals.[182]

More privacy is afforded at night, however, when mothers can rub against their children's entire bodies because they sleep naked with their them, "together in each other's arms" and when they also can "regularly rub" the boy's penis to erection.[183]

That these infants and children who are used as erotic objects function as poison containers for the mothers' split-off and denied anxieties and anger is quite clear. Poole interviewed one young boy, Buuktiin, who described how when his mother was depressed or angry she often "pulled, pinched, rubbed, or flicked a fingernail against his penis"[184] until he cried, afraid it might break off. "When he struggled to escape, she held him tightly and rubbed his penis even harder."[185]

Kiipsaak [his mother] had masturbated him earlier as mothers often do…[But] now she increased the tempo and roughness of the episodes…and he often jerked at her touch and struggled to get away, hitting her and complaining of throbbing pain in his penis. 'It hurts inside. It goes 'koong, koong, koong' inside. I think it bleeds in there. I don't like to touch it anymore. It hurts when I pee."[186]

Like so many victims of maternal incest, Buuktiin constantly cuts himself, both to get the "bad maternal blood" out of himself, since he feels polluted by the constant incest, and to punish himself, since children regularly blame themselves for the mother's sexual abuse:

Sometimes after such [incestuous] encounters, he wounded himself slightly in the thigh and the abdomen with a sharp stick and with slow deliberation, drawing blood and watching his penis. "Now it hurts here, outside, not in penis. Look, blood. Feels good…Good to be a girl, no penis…Mother twist penis, tight, tight…Hurt, hurt, inside. Cry, she not listen. Why? She cut off father's penis? She cut off mine? Father tell her, cut off Buuktiin's penis? Mother angry, hurt Buuktiin's penis. Mother sad, hurt Buuktin's penis…Mother not like Buuktiin's penis, want to cut off."[187]

No better description can be imagined of the infanticidal, incestuous mother using her child as a poison container to handle her depression: mother wants to annihilate her inner tormentors, she

kills her child; mother needs sex to counter her depression and deadness, she masturbates it; mother is angry or sad, she twists and hurts his penis.

MATERNAL REJECTION IN NEW GUINEA

The "love" of the infanticidal mode parent is mainly evident when the child is useful as an erotic object. When children are off the breast or otherwise not useful, they are rejected as emotionally meaningless. The infanticidal parents' emotional bond does not really acknowledge the separate existence of the child, whose main function is to provide "bodily stimulation [that] helps the mother to come alive, and she seeks this from the child…countering her feelings of lethargy, depression, and deadness."[188] As with all pedophiles, the child is a "sexual object…that must show a readiness to comply, lend itself to be manipulated, used, abused [and] discarded…"[189] There is never just "incest" it is always "incest/rejection."

There are many ways New Guinea parents demonstrate that when the child cannot be used erotically, it is useless. One is that as soon as infants are not being nursed, they are paid no attention, and even when in danger are ignored. Anthropologists regularly notice that little children play with knives or fire and adults ignore them. Edgerton comments on the practice: "Parents allowed their small children to play with very sharp knives, sometimes cutting themselves, and they permitted them to sleep unattended next to the fire. As a result, a number of children burned themselves seriously…it was not uncommon to see children who had lost a toe to burns, and some were crippled by even more severe burns."[190] Langness says in the Bena Bena "it was not at all unusual to see even very small toddlers playing with sharp bush knives with no intervention on the part of caretakers."[191] But this is good, say the anthropologists, since when "children as young as two or three are permitted to play with objects that Westerners consider dangerous, such as sharp knives or burning brands from the fire, [it] tends to produce assertive, confident, and competent children."[192] Children, they explain, are allowed to "learn by observations…e.g., the pain of cutting oneself when playing carelessly with a knife."[193] As Whiting says, when he once saw a Kwoma baby "with the blade of a twelve-inch bush knife in his mouth and the adults present paid no attention to him," this was good for the infant, since in this way "the child learns to discriminate between the edible and inedible."[194] Margaret Mead is particularly ecstatic about the wisdom of mothers making infants learn to swim early by allowing them to fall into the water under the hut when crawling and slipping through gaps in the floor or falling overboard into the sea because they were "set in the bow of the canoe while the mother punts in the stern some ten feet away."[195]

Children are experienced by mothers as extensions of their bodies, and any separation or independence is seen as rejection of the mother, as reminders of the severe rejection of the mothers' own childhood. Mothers do not allow others to nurse their children, saying their milk is "poison," and even do not allow their one- to two-year-olds to visit their relatives for fear they would "poison" them.[196] When a mother dies, often the "infant would be buried with her even if perfectly healthy,"[197] and if the infant dies, "the mother remains secluded with it for days, wailing, attempting to nurse it," blaming it by saying "I told you not to die. But you did not hear me! You did not listen!"[198] When infants begin to show any sign of independence, they are either wholly rejected and ignored or forced to stay still. Typical is the Wogeo child, who Hogbin describes as often being "put in a basket, which is then hung on a convenient rafter…or tree" and "discouraged from walking and not allowed to crawl…[forced to] sit still for hours at a time [and

only] make queer noises" as he or she is immobilized to avoid even the slightest movement of independence from the mother.[199]Anthropologists regularly see these ubiquitous New Guinea baskets and net bags in which the infants are trapped and in which they are often hung on a tree as "comforting," even though it means that the infants often live in their own feces and urine and can neither crawl nor interact with others. Only Hippler describes them as a function of the mothers' pattern of "near absolute neglect" of her child when it is not being used erotically.[200]

Parental rejection in preliterate cultures is often overt it is what Boyer found was called "throwing the child away." Boyer discovered that "a great many mothers abandon or give children away; babies they have been nursing lovingly only hours before," when he and his wife were offered their babies, a practice he ascribed to the mothers' "shallow object relations."[201] Few anthropologists have seen the high adoption and fosterage rates in the New Guinea area-some as high as 75 percent[202] as rejection, but of course that is what it is. Child rejection is widely institutionalized in various forms, usually after weaning, when the infant has stopped being useful as an erotic object. In the Trobriands, for instance, "the transfer of children who have already been weaned from true parents to other parents is a frequent occurrence…"[203] Anthropologists usually see giving away a child as evidence of parental love. Kasprus, for instance, says the Raum really "love and like children," but that "although they love children they may readily give one away…"204 Mead describes the giving of a child away by her parents as a "happy" event. The occasion is a family giving a seven-year-old girl to the family of her betrothed, an older man:

The little girl is taken by her parents and left in the home of her betrothed. Here her life hardly differs at all from the life that she led at home….Towards her young husband, her attitude is one of complete trust and acceptance….He calls out to her to light his pipe, or to feed his dog…she becomes warmly attached…I asked her: "Did you cry when you first went to Liwo?" "No, I did not cry. I am very strong."[205]

Rejection of the child when off the breast is ubiquitous in New Guinea. Small children are rarely looked at or talked to. Whereas in American families an average of 28 minutes of an average hour is spent talking to and interacting with the child (including an average of 341 utterances per hour),[206] in at least one New Guinea study mothers were found to interact with their children only one minute out of each hour.[207] The millions of looks, communications, admirations, mirroring and emotional negotiations between mother and child the "emotional dialogue that fosters the beginnings of a sense of self, logical communications and the beginnings of purposefulness"[208] are simply missing for the New Guinea child. The result is that the early self system in the orbitofrontal cortex has no chance to develop, and since "the orbitofrontal cortex functionally mediates the capacity to empathize with the feelings of others and to reflect on internal emotional states, one's own and others,"[209] when these emotionally rejected children grow up they are unable to empathize with others or have much insight into their own emotions.

Since to the infanticidal mother, as Hippler puts it, "the child is an unconscious representative of [her own] mother, his autonomous actions are seen by the mother as abandonment. The response on the part of the mother to this 'abandonment' by her infant…is anger" and rejection.[210]Mothers throughout the South Pacific are said to "hold their small infants facing away from them and toward other people while the mother speaks for them rather than to them."[211] Obviously the

infant is an extension of the mother's body, not an independent human being at all. "No one says very much to babies,"[212] and when they begin to walk, they are felt to be abandoning the parent and are emotionally rejected. As Hippler puts it,

I never observed a single adult Yolngu caretaker of any age or sex walking a toddler around, showing him the world, explaining things to him and empathizing with his needs. While categorical statements are most risky, I am most certain of this.[213]

This emotional rejection and lack of verbalization has been widely noted among infanticidal mode parents in simple societies.[214] When the baby stops being a breast-object, it simply doesn't exist. In my New Guinea childhood files, for instance, I have over 1,000 photos from books and articles showing adults and children-including one book of over 700 photos of Fore children taken randomly so as to capture their daily lives.[215] Virtually all the photos capture the adults continuously caressing, rubbing, kissfeeding and mouthing the children's bodies, but only two show an adult actually looking at the child. Not a single one shows a mutual gaze between the adult and child which Schore contends is the basis of formation of the self. The photos illuminate Read's description of the "customary greeting, a standing embrace in which both men and women handled each other's genitals…hands continually reaching out to caress a thigh, arms to encircle a waist, and open, searching mouths hung over a child's lips, nuzzled a baby's penis, or closed with a smack on rounded buttocks."[216] This emotional abandonment is further confirmed by Boram, who recorded every detail of a typical day of one six-year-old Ok girl. Interactions or talking to the mother were found to be rare, while the child spent the day going about looking for food, hunting frogs and cooking them, "fondling" babies and pretending to nurse piglets from her breast. Boram concludes that for Ok children "most of the day is spent simply in killing time…"[217] It is not surprising that he also mentions that tantrums are frequent and suicide is high among these children, and that he observed many "episodes of insanity" in Ok children.[218]

MALNUTRITION AND THE WEANING CRISIS IN NEW GUINEA

So difficult is it for New Guinea area mothers to relate to their children as independent human beings that they are unable to feed them regularly once they are off the breast. Like contemporary pedophiles, they do not so much love their children as need them, so when the parents' needs end, the child can be emotionally abandoned. When still on the breast, New Guinea children are constantly being force-fed, so that nursing "becomes a battle in which the mother clutches the child, shaking it up and down with the nipple forced into its mouth until it must either suck or choke."[219] As soon as they are off the breast, however, the mothers no longer need them as erotic objects, and they have difficulty understanding that their children need three meals a day. Although there is almost always plenty of food to eat for both adults and children, "several authors have stressed what appears to be a nonchalant attitude toward infant and child feeding on the part of Papua New Guinea mothers,"[220] so that "over 90 percent of children under five have been measured as having mild to moderate undernutrition."[221] In one careful statistical study, almost all children remained underweight for years, because "none were fed three times daily as clinic sisters encourage…"[222] In the New Guinea-Australian culture area, meat, in particular, is rarely given to children, being eaten up by the adults first.[223] Hippler reports that "parents eat all the substantial food…before the child can get any. Adults…do not believe that deaths result from anything but sorcery, they make no connection between these practices and childhood illness and attendant death."[224] In a careful study of Kwanga child malnutrition, two-

year-olds who had been weaned were found to average only two meals a day, so that child mortality was extremely high.[225] Nurses in the clinic kept telling the mothers, "Why don't you tell me the truth? You do not feed your child properly!" but the mothers didn't seem to comprehend why it was necessary to feed them regularly each day, and so the weaned children kept losing weight and even dying.[226]

In her book on child malnourishment in New Guinea, Patricia Townsend cites all the studies showing the majority of children are underweight between age one and four, emphasizing that the toddler group-after weaning-are most malnourished, since the mothers do not feed them regularly.[227] Children are constantly being described by observers as throwing tantrums "for hours" trying to get food, "standing in the middle of the house floor and shrieking monotonously until someone stops work to cook for them."[228] Anthropologists ascribe these constant hunger tantrums to children's willfulness, agreeing with a chuckle with the natives' saying that "young children have only one thought/emotion, which is to eat,"[229] unable to empathize with the despair of the hungry, unloved, lonely, rejected children they see throwing the tantrums.

Similarly, once the infant is off the breast both the parents and the anthropologists seem unable to empathize with the feelings of the children as they are subjected to all kinds of tortures which anthropologists dismiss as merely "cultural practices" and therefore consider as unmotivated. For instance, babies in many areas have their skulls deformed, highly elongated with painfully tight bindings that are renewed every day for months.[230]Making infants crawl over dead bodies and terrorizing little children with frightening masks and threats of devouring witches is quite common.[231]Children are also regularly described as "shouted at, jerked roughly, slapped, shaken" bitten and hit with sticks[232] yet the standard study on child abuse in New Guinea claims they are "rarely abused" because although "it is not uncommon for adults to strike children…there is no such thing as a formal spanking."[233] Since only formal disciplinary spankings as we administer them in the West seem to count as child abuse, anthropologists regularly conclude that "child abuse…is virtually unknown" in New Guinea.[234]

INFANTICIDAL PARENTING AND PARENTING IN OTHER PRIMATES

Most New Guinea area parenting practices from infanticide and maternal incest to the inability to feed properly-are shared with other primate parents, thus lending further credence to the conclusion that they still have a childrearing mode that is rather close to that of our earliest ancestors. The inability of most non-human primates to share food with their children after weaning is well established. Jane Lancaster sums up primate post-weaning behavior:

…adults are not responsible for seeing that young have enough to eat…[even] an injured or sick youngster still has to feed itself and get itself to water or it will die virtually before the eyes of other group members. Individuals who would risk their own lives in defense of the youngster are psychologically incapable of seeing its need for them to bring it food and water. Once weaned, then, young monkeys and apes must feed themselves…[235]

The primate mother nurses her infant only for the erotic pleasure it affords, not for "love" of her child. Like the New Guinea mother, she has difficulty conceiving that her child is hungry. After the suckling period, primate mothers almost never give any kind of food to their infants. "Even gorilla infants have never been seen being given solid food by their mothers."[236] In fact, primate

mothers are often observed to grab food from their offspring, who must get by on "tolerated scrounging" of leftovers.[237] Like New Guinea mothers, chimpanzee mothers are described as losing interest in their children when off the breast, often rejecting and punishing them.[238] The result of this severe maternal rejection is that there is a "weaning crisis" for primates when they abruptly must learn to find food for themselves, a deadly rejection process that kills from one-third to three-fourths of them before they reached adulthood.[239]

Primates parallel human infanticidal mode parents in other ways too. They frequently give away their infants a practice called "alloparenting,"[240]which often results in the infant being abused, abandoned or killed.[241] Primates are also infanticidal, cannibalistic and incestuous.[242] Indeed, there appears to be only a relatively small degree of childrearing evolution between our nearest primate ancestors and infanticidal mode parenting such as that in New Guinea. Lovejoy[243] cites the high infant mortality of primates during weaning he places it at around 40 percent as evidence that early hominids estimated at over 50 percent infant mortality[244] had difficulty feeding their children once off the breast, just as New Guinea mothers still do today.

THE FUNCTION OF CHILD GANGS IN NEW GUINEA

After the mother rejects the child during weaning, he or she must rely on peers in child gangs for much of its needs. A cross-cultural study of this pattern among preliterate groups concludes:

In one ethnography after another there is a description of intense mother-infant contact…until weaning, and outright maternal hostility and rejection afterward…

Children typically eat with other children in these groups after weaning, often in outright scramble competition when food is scarce. The description of this pattern usually goes with assurances by the ethnographer that the child receives 'emotional support' from peers and from others in the group. Our bet is that any of these kids would prefer a square meal to emotional support. The point here is that many people in the world do not share our American middle-class view that children need and deserve a lot of input. They treat children much as other primate parents treat their children…[245]

Throughout the New Guinea area, children are "not only turned loose for the daylight hours but also actively discouraged from returning to the parents" and so are forced to join "a transient gang."[246] As is usual in gangs, the older children "lord it over" the younger, often beat them and make them their servants,[247] particularly their sexual servants, since they were used to constant sexual stimulation by their parents as studies have shown, "incestuous children are uncommonly erotic…easily aroused…and readily orgasmic."[248] Malinowsky was one of the first to report sexual intercourse beginning at age four in the Trobriand Islands, where "children are initiated by each other, or sometimes by a slightly older companion, into the practices of sex," including oral stimulation, masturbation, and anal or vaginal intercourse.[249] Others since then have confirmed the pattern:

The boys poke sticks into each others' anuses…If parents see boys having sex with little girls they joke about it and laugh. 'Good. You can do it. Your mothers and fathers did this…'"[250]

The younger children are of course raped by the older ones, although this is never obvious in the language of the anthropologist, who usually says some neutral phrase like "they are typically initiated into intercourse by older and more experienced children,"[251] as though the older child was only a helpful teacher. The same misleading language is used when describing young girls "subjected at about age eight to ten to serial sexual intercourse by adult men…to procure sexual fluids for rubbing on the girl's groom-to-be, to help him grow,"[252] as though this weren't simple gang rape. Some anthropologists even claim that the raping of little children by child gangs is "healthy," because, as Kurtz puts it, "the group seduces a child out of immaturity by offering and imposing on that child multiple experiences of sexual pleasure…"[253]

Studies of children who have been sexually abused by their parents show they were "highly eroticized"[254] and often restaged their own seductions on other children. In New Guinea, the child gangs often had their own houses in which to have sex, as in the Trobriand Islands, where "young people usually do not sleep in their parents' houses. They move to a small house next door or a few doors away…In this way, they have the freedom of their own sleeping quarters to which they can bring their lovers."[255] Roheim says both boys and girls are constantly sexual, even with their siblings:

Homosexuality plays a conspicuous role in the life of a young girl [using] little sticks wound around at the end so as to imitate the glans penis…All the virgin girls do this…One of them plays the male role and introduces the artificial penis into her cousin's vagina…they then rub their two clitorises together…At the age of eight or ten boys and girls frequently have their own little houses…They do it first to their little sisters. Sipeta says that her older brothers every evening before they went to the girls would pet her this way.[256]

Boys throughout the Melanesian and Polynesian areas take great pride in "deflowering virgins," both individually and in gangs, and often "count coup" as to how many little girls they have deflowered."[257] Parents encourage the rape; Berndt describes how "children…are invited by a mother, older brother or sister, or some other person, to indulge in sexual intercourse with an adult or a child of the same age…"[258] Gang raping children is often done as part of rituals, as when Australian aborigines mutilate and rape their young girls:

A most severe form of mutilation, introcism, was formerly practiced among Australian aborigines…the vagina of a pubertal girl was slit with a knife or torn open by the fingers of the operator, the purpose being to enlarge the vaginal opening. This painful operation was immediately followed by forced intercourse with a group of young men.[259]

Women, too, rape young boys; Firth describes how women would "cover the child and herself with a blanket and insert his penis in her genitals. She lies on her back, holds the child on top of her and with her hand works his loins."[260] Anthropologists occasionally admit that child rape in New Guinea might be "sometimes associated with violence,"[261] but usually claim it is voluntary, as when Knauft claims rape of young girls by "between five and thirteen men" was "willingly submitted to…in the belief that it was necessary to enhance their personal fertility as well as that of the Marind cosmos."[262]

RAPE OF BOYS AS RESTAGING OF MATERNAL INCEST

When New Guinea boys begin to want to individuate at around seven years of age, adult men, identifying with their desires to grow, begin to experience severe growth panic and restage in various ways their maternal incest traumas. Mainly in the less-evolved South and Eastern Lowlands, this restaging takes the form of oral and anal rape of the boys, as men force their penis into the boy's mouth or anus the same way the mothers used them in forced erotic feeding as infants. Like pederasts who have been psychoanalyzed,[263] New Guinea men fear women as incestuous, engulfing mothers whose "menstrual blood could contaminate and kill them." By raping boys, these pederasts reverse their own being passively used as erotic objects and instead actively use the boys sexually. Thus the boys become sexual objects devoid of the mother's frightening configurations, while restaging the maternal rape of their own infancy. Both the boys and the men recognize the rape as being like breast-feeding, rationalizing it as necessary for growth, telling the little boys, "You all won't grow by yourselves; if you sleep with the men you'll become a STRONG man…when you hold a man's penis, you must put it inside your mouth-he can give you semen…It's the same as your mother's breast milk."[264] Among many groups, the fellatio of men by young boys occurs daily and continues until puberty, when he then can begin raping younger boys himself. The swallowing of semen is so important that men often blame accidents on not drinking enough. As one Juvu tribesman said about a man who had fallen from a tree, "He didn't drink semen: that's why he fell." His friend agreed: "I still never stop thinking about semen or eating it…[a] man who didn't [swallow semen] enough will die quickly, like an airplane without gasoline!"[265]

The notion that boys must be given semen to stop them from growing into females has a certain logic to New Guinea people. Like all maternally incested children, they feel that being used sexually by their mothers "pollutes their blood" and since the boys consider themselves responsible for the seduction they feel "full of women's pollution" and need semen to "get mother's poison" out of them. Since as infants they were used erotically by always being rubbed against the mothers' bodies, they were intimately familiar with her menstrual fluids, remaining with her in the menstrual hut,[266] and so an explicit association is made between menstrual fluids and poison. Everyone therefore agrees that women's blood is so poisonous that sexual intercourse at the wrong time can kill men and that wives can and do kill their husbands and children by giving them polluted food.[267]Since attacks by witches and spirits "follow the path of menstrual blood,"[268] boys who remain "polluted" by mother's blood are open to death by witchcraft, so during their whole lives this incestuous "maternal pollution" must be constantly removed through semen ingestion and blood-letting rituals where men make incisions in the boys' bodies and rub sperm into the cuts.[269]

Anthropologists often state that orally and anally raping boys is both chosen by and beneficial to them. Although occasionally they reveal that the boys "fear punishment"[270] and that their "first response to doing fellatio was fear that is how most boys respond," they nevertheless conclude that the boys "do not just accept fellatio: they want it."[271] Like most pederasty defenders, they depict the boys as "enthusiastically anticipating" their rape,[272] and as "eager to suck" mens' penises and "enjoying" the rape with "fine erotic enthusiasm."[273] Oral and anal rapes are said to be "grounded in personal affection rather than obligation"[274] and "have a positive effect on the boy's development."[275] Some of the anthropologists are open pedophile supporters, who praise the "positive tradition of paedophilia over the last hundred years" and term pederasty an

"enormously nurturant relationship" in interviews in Paedika: The Journal of Paedophilia,[276] one even having been prosecuted for bringing New Guinea boys back to the U.S. and sexually abusing them.[277] Of the several hundred anthropologists whose work I have researched, I found none who said pederasty was detrimental, agreeing instead with the New Guinea natives that it was both desired by and beneficial to the victims.

TORTURE AND MUTILATION AS PUNISHMENT FOR GROWTH

Even in those Highland areas that do not have ritualized pederasty, growth is psychologically felt to be dangerous to adults, and so older children are everywhere tortured and mutilated as punishment for their individuation and independence. Although these tortures are called "initiation rituals" by anthropologists, they are less "initiations" into anything than punishments for growing up. They dramatize a cleansing of maternal poisons so boys can now be used by men for their projections. Most of them restage maternal traumas in one way or another. One ritual begins by blaming their mothers as "evil defilers" of the boys who "have polluted and weakened their sons" with their bad menstrual blood.[278] Another describes how "bad polluted maternal blood" is purged from prepubertal Gahuka-Gama boys:

The boys, placed in the front ranks of the vast crowd, see a score of naked men standing in the river exhibiting their erect penises and masturbating. Then, several of the men stride into the river where one takes two rolls of razor-sharp leaves and pushes them up and down his nostrils until blood gushes into the water…each initiate…is held firmly by his sponsor, while another man thrusts the leaves back and forth in his nostrils until the boys bleeds profusely into the river. After all of the initiates have been bled, [a man] doubles a length of cane and thrusts it down his esophagus like a sword swallower and draws it back and forth until he vomits into the water. The dangerous procedure is then carried out on the initiates who are now weakened and slack from the bleeding….

As soon as the boys are out of sight, the men verbally attack the women for being bad mothers and delaying their sons' growth. A warrior holds up a bunch of leaves soaked by the blood from the boys' noses, and…two men seize one of the mothers and a warrior forces the bloody leaves down her throat while cursing her…[279]

The ritual both demonstrates "we are all bleeding, polluted mothers here" and tries to undo the feeling of being polluted by cutting the boys with the razor-sharp leaves in their nostrils and the cane-sword down their throats. The boys understandably "tremble, urinating and defecating in fear" during their torture.[280] Yet the feeling of still being incested, polluted maternal sex-objects remains with them, since so many continue to bleed their noses, tongues or penises periodically the rest of their lives.[281]

Mead describes Arapesh men cutting their penises to remove bad blood every time they experience growth anxiety: after first intercourse with his wife, after erecting a new house, after initiating a growing youth, etc.[282] The cutting is clearly to remove the mother's polluted blood; as one informant put it, "We say [the mother's] blood and bad words enter our skin and lodge there, so we expel it [by bleeding]."[283] Boys are told: "You [initiates] have been with your mothers…they have said 'bad words' to you, their talk has entered your noses and prevented you from growing big."[284]Some groups additionally purge boys by such rites as penis-bleeding and the

"painful procedure of lying with open eyes under a jet of water to cleanse the eyeballs" of female pollution.[285]

That New Guinea teenage boys continue to cut themselves, often their penises, after initiation rites shows they are self-injurious as punishment for the incest they have endured. Clinical studies of self-cutters show "cases of self-injurious behavior are rare in…children who have not been physically or sexually abused."[286] Case histories of incest victims who slash themselves sound very much like how New Guinea youth slashing their penises with crab claws:

Leigh, now 25, had been sexually abused by her father…her mother told her that only a "whore" would accuse her father of such things. "So here I was, 11 years old, standing in front of a mirror thinking, 'You filthy slut! You deserve everything you get!' Then I'd go into a trance almost, and cut my arms and legs with a razor blade. Later I cut my breast and even my genitals because I learned that those were the parts of my body that made me a whore."[287]

Although fathers may use their girls sexually, they do not use their boys although in some areas fathers rent out their boys to other men who do use them sexually, establishing a "anus father" and "anus son" relationship.[288]

Genital mutilation, which is always punishment for growing up, also occurs in New Guinea. It is not, as Reik contends, "a punishment for incestuous wishes,"[289] but rather a self-punishment for real maternal incest for which children blame themselves. Genital mutilation rituals are cross-culturally correlated with exclusive mother-infant skin-to-skin sleeping arrangements, where the father sleeps separate, so the mother is likely to use the child incestuously.[290] In the New Guinea area, they are sometimes as brutal as the infamous Australian subincision, where the penis is cut the length of its underside until it "splits open like a boiled frankfurter."[291] The long wound on the penis is then called a boy's "vagina,"[292] and the men have intercourse in it.[293] In other New Guinea tribes who mutilate genitals, it usually involves cutting little pieces of the penis off. Girls, too, are sometimes initiated by having their noses bled with leaves or having stinging nettles thrust up their vulvas before they are gang raped.[294] Subincision in the whole culture area is said to be accompanied by the mutilation of the girls' genitals; according to Montagu, it was "once widely practiced throughout Australia and Oceania."[295] Whether in the form of painful inch-long body incisions, "often over a hundred,"[296] or genital mutilations, New Guinea girls, too, are cut as punishment for being sexual and for purging poisonous blood.[297]

Other punishments during initiations for growing children include brutal beating with sticks and stinging nettles, sometimes for months or years, being burned over a fire, being starved and tortured, being made to swallow lime which severely blisters the boys' mouths and throats, shooting a miniature sharp-pointed arrow up girls' urethras until blood is drawn, pushing barbed grass up the urethra, cutting the glans penis with a crab claw, etc.[298] Although one anthropologist mentioned that "undoubtedly these rituals are exceedingly painful,"[299] they are usually considered as neither nor as very traumatic to the children. Sometimes the "rebirth" of the boys by the purgings is accomplished by first crawling through the legs of the men and sometimes it is in the form of other death-and-rebirth rituals. In either case, the rituals are a restaging of one of the most powerful traumas New Guinea children must endure: watching their infanticidal mothers strangle or drown their newborn siblings. The ritual first restages the murder of the newborn and

then undoes it by showing that men can bring babies back to life (while mothers only want to kill babies.)

The brutal initiation punishments are often combined with gang rape by men-either, as in the Trans-Fly area, oral rape by all villagers or visitors (combined with the pouring of lime down their throats to ensure the boys do not become pregnant) or as in the Marind, where anal rape is limited to the uncles.[300] Initiations are also often followed by war raids,[301] sometimes a cannibalistic headhunt, to demonstrate to the boys how through group violence they can actively identify with the infanticidal, devouring mother and kill and eat people rather than being passively killed or eaten by her. Bloch describes this transformation from victim alter to killer alter in his book, Prey Into Hunter:

the transformation of the initiates from victims into killers is a typical aspect of these rituals…men shouting that they are spirits arrive as if from the forest and chase the children, maltreating them. The intruders are terrifying: they advance biting and assaulting…and shouting 'Bite, bite, bite'. Meanwhile the parents beg the spirits not to 'kill' the children. The reason that it is believed that the ritual may very possibly lead to the death of the children [is] that this indeed happens not infrequently….[Therefore] from having been victims the children have become murderers…[302]

In addition to the brutality of persecutory initiation rituals, daily life with parents is full of physical and psychological abuse. One group of childhood memories tape recorded by one anthropologist regularly features "parents harshly punishing" children, the following being typical: "She grabbed my arm, twisted it and bit one of the small veins…" (mother); "they beat me until I was half-dead [then] tied me to a tree and left me there for the night" (both parents); "He kicked me very hard and I fell over a large rock and hurt myself very badly. 'Kill her and throw her away!' he said. When we return to Dandipe we will still have plenty of other children to replace her." (father)[303] Since empathy with children's feelings is nearly absent, gratuitous mutilation of the children is common, such as tightly binding newborn infants heads for months to elongate the skull or chopping or biting off infant's fingers while mourning.[304] These kinds of brutal daily abuses, added to the various types of ritual pederasty, torture and mutilation, are so widespread that the conclusion in the standard anthropological work on cross-cultural child abuse that there is a "virtual absence of child abuse in New Guinea"[305] appears quite inexplicable.

SOCIAL ALTERS IN NEW GUINEA

Like all children who experience incest, torture and severe physical abuse, New Guinea children only manage to retain their sanity by constructing various alters as they grow up, which contain split-off identifications and selves that are experienced as separate from their central selves. When they are incested and raped, for instance, they split off the horror into a victim alter and an abuser alter-which then abuses other children when they become teenagers. Pedophiles who are in therapy often reveal they switch into their abuser alters when raping children:

At the start of therapy, Jennifer experienced repeated flashbacks of a gang rape at about age four…She had alters representing the rapists as well as herself as the victim. These alters had imagined themselves to be perpetrators in order to avoid experiencing the pain of the rape….Jennifer's abuse…included sexual and physical abuse at home, by all family members.

There was also systematic, ritualistic abuse by a Satanic cult in which her family was involved as well as pornographic film-making…we went through her memories of abusing the little boys she had baby-sat…this abuse caused pleasure to some alters and pain to others…Jennifer's system was able to identify that pedophilic desires belonged to alters whose only pleasant life experience was that of sexually abusing younger children. They saw the little boy in the shelter as vulnerable and neglected, and they felt they cared for him. They thought their sexual abuse of him would be a caring act, something he would find pleasant compared to what Jennifer had been through.[306]

Anthropologists regularly notice that New Guinea adults regularly switch into alters "It was as if someone had turned a switch in these people. We thought we knew them, and all of a sudden they were acting in ways we didn't understand at all"[307] and often comment on the natives' own descriptions of what they call their "hidden self." It is widely recognized that the "public persona one presents to others is not only different from, but a deliberate mask of…the divided self…"[308] But because anthropologists are unaware of the clinical literature on multiple selves they do not call them "alters," saying, "In probably all Melanesian cultures…there is not one 'true' self but rather many selves…[however] English lacks a [word for] dual or multiple self."[309]

Since Poole is the only anthropologist who actually interviews children about their inner life, his descriptions of their formation of alters during Bimin-Kuskusmin childhood are especially valuable. This tribe recognizes that people have hidden alternate personalities, called finiik and khaapkhabuurien, that "temporarily depart from the body to wander abroad…during dreams, illnesses, trances, and other forms of mystical experience."[310] One five-year-old child, whose mother constantly masturbated him and whose father beat him, learned that his twin had been killed by his mother at birth and constructed an "imaginary unborn sibling" alter "as an adversary, scapegoat, surrogate, confidant, companion, friend, and twin."[311] Like all multiples, he used this consoling alter to reduce his anxiety that his mother might kill him too. For instance, one day after he watched his father-who was a renowned killer and cannibal-beating his mother bloody, he "rushed shrieking frantically to his mother, and began caressing her abdomen. Then he began to press his mouth against her navel and to call to Fuut'tiin, his imaginary unborn sibling."[312] When he was depressed, he took Poole into the forest and introduced him to his many alters, including a "person-in-the-stone" and "a red bird who told him secrets," and told him about being possessed by witch alters that appeared both in dreams and in waking life.[313]

Switching into alters is the basis for all political and religious behavior. New Guinea natives recognize this when they say things like "the khaapkhabuurien may sometimes become detached from the body in dreams, shadows, reflections, spirit possessions, trances, and illnesses…"[314] When one becomes a sorcerer or witch, one enters a trance state and switches into persecutory alters-called "familiars"-termed the "key concept" for understanding New Guinea shamanistic religion.[315] One of the main purposes of the various "initiation rituals" is to coordinate individual persecutory and victim alters, substituting shared group alters. When, for instance, young warriors go out on headhunting raids they practice switching as a group into killing alters through "special magic, which places the fighters in a trance-like state of dissociation in which they became capable of extreme, indiscriminate violence [which] made them capable of killing even their own wives and children…"[316] They are often amnestic of being in their alter, and "speak of the aftermath of the fighting as a kind of re-awakening or recovery of

their senses. They claim not even to have perceived the enemy corpses until the magic was removed and 'our eyes became clear again, and we saw all the fine men and women we had killed'."[317] Thus they can be friendly to anthropologists at one moment and vicious warriors or cannibals the next, after switching into their murderous, devouring alters.

SOCIAL ALTERS AND CULTURAL EVOLUTION IN NEW GUINEA

New Guinea social, religious and political institutions are primarily constructions by men to defend against maternal engulfment fears through shared beliefs and rituals. Institutions such as war, headhunting, cannibalism, witch scares, shamanism, and gift exchange are all made up of dream objects and projected alters that are experienced as ghosts, witches, shamans, warriors, enemies and magical leaders. They regularly speak to dream-figures, both in dreams and afterwards, and regularly hallucinate ghosts and witches. Because so much of their emotional life is contained in their alters, they cannot for long stay out of them-it isn't that they are just "attached to the group" as anthropologists claim. It's that only while in a group trance can they rejoin their split-off alters, inheritors of their developmental traumas. So complete is the domain of their social trance and so total their struggles with their projected fears that little energy has been available to produce cultural innovation, so they have remained in the infanticidal psychoclass long after most groups have evolved beyond it. Male fear of and hostility toward women in New Guinea has been so overpowering that routinely battered mothers have had little ability to produce the "hopeful daughters" who could evolve childhood and psyche.

It is no coincidence that what is arguably the most anti-female culture area in the world is also one of the least culturally evolved. Sambia men, for instance, fear that menstrual blood may penetrate into their urethra during intercourse,[318] and are certain everything bad that happens to them, especially any sickness, is due to contact with dreaded women's blood. Foods that are either red or hairy are often avoided due to their resemblance to the vagina.[319] The fear of women begins in childhood:

A mother's speech and harangues have a lethal power. A woman's airstream emitted while speaking is thought to emerge from her blood-filled caverns. If it is directed-particularly at close range during anger-toward boys, the boys are believed harmed: simply by inhaling those insults and air…Likewise, women pollute boys simply by lifting their legs in proximity to them, emitting vaginal smells that boys can breathe in: and, for this reason, men keep their noses plugged during coitus, avoiding incorporation of the vaginal smell they describe as most harmfully foul…[320]

The resulting fear of and rage toward women lead to widespread wife-beating,[321] the routine torture and execution of women suspected of poisoning men[322] and the high female suicide rates so characteristic of small-scale societies, often reaching 10-25 percent of adult women's deaths.[323]Most anthropologists report extremely high rates of "violence toward women, including rape, murder, and attacks upon their genitals."[324] Men's constant fears of semen depletion by women are behind the belief that boys need to swallow semen during fellatio to become male.[325] Intercourse is often reported as brief, ending in a minute or two, so they don't get poisoned.[326] Marital fidelity is rare, one girl saying to her mother: "All the men have intercourse with you and your cunt is wide open…I've seen you dripping their semen about. I've seen them all have intercourse with you."[327] When a woman commits adultery, they are often severely

punished “by having burning sticks thrust into their vaginas, or they were killed by their husbands.”[328] Although infidelity is the rule, the reason is little understood, with anthropologists resorting to such rationalizations as “frequent sexual intercourse and sexual partner change is in fact the norm, perhaps because there is so little else to do in one’s spare time.”[329]

Wars are called “the breath of life” and are fought to repair their fragmented self and to restore potency, mainly through ambush, with warriors spearing unarmed men, women and children for wholly imagined grievances that restage their own childhood traumas. Groups decide to go to war whenever they switch into their persecutory alters, mainly on occasions of extreme growth panic, such as after initiations, new tasks such as building new houses or expanding gardens, or during leadership crises, in the fourth, upheaval leadership stage, when the leader seems weak. Anything new can trigger a raid, though it is usually blamed on family disputes or other rationalizations-though studies of war usually avoid any analysis of motivation, calling it a “psychological black box,” since “nearly every man nurses a grievance that can precipitate war.”[330] Estimates of deaths from war can top 35 percent of adult deaths, the highest rates on record.[331] Male homicide rates also reach the highest levels anywhere in the world.[332]Knauft, for instance, found that over 60 percent of middle-age adult Gebusi males he interviewed had already committed one or more homicide.[333]Distrust of others in many tribes is widespread, for good reason, since most people have killed or poisoned someone and are liable to again.[334]“Both men and women are volatile, prone to quarreling and quick to take offense at a suspected slight or injury.”[335] Shame the result of being used as an erotic object in childhood is the central social feeling, “feeling exposed, naked before others,”[336] so that in New Guinea, as elsewhere, imaginary humiliations are involved in most social violence. Men cling to their various solidarity arrangements to counter engulfing, poisonous women, because “Women represent an enemy, the enemy, and aggression is based on opposition to them. At every stage of the developmental cycle, men have an internal, united organization as reference; women and external enemies are the target of concern, they are conceptually equivalent.”[337]Recurrent group-psychotic episodes of witchcraft poison fears are epidemic throughout the area as maternal engulfment anxieties due to periodic growth panics peak. Retribution for imagined magical sorcery attacks is “personal, immediate and uncompromisingly vicious. The assailants spring on their victim from ambush, brutally overpower him, jab poisons directly into his body, and sometimes twist or rip out organs,”[338] thereby paying back their infanticidal and incestuous mothers for early traumatic hurts. The “witch” is in fact simple possession, what would be diagnosed in our society as an alter “inhabiting” the body along with one’s “real” self:

“Real people” were wary of those suspected of witchcraft and desperately afraid of convicted and confessed witches. They believed that a witch could kill simply by staring at a person. They believed, too, that the kum inhabiting the body of a witch could arbitrarily leave and leap into the body of a bystander forcing him or her to perform the actions attributed to witches. Some of the persons accused of witchcraft admitted that they had indeed harboured a kum but that it had left them…[339]

When inhabited by a violent persecutory alter, warriors join in a social trance that acts out their need to kill, regardless of object. Harrison writes of violence in New Guinea tribes:

Headhunting raids required special magic, which placed the fighters in a trance-like state of dissociation and relieved them of accountability for their actions; it was supposed to make them capable of killing even their own wives and children. …so long as the magic was in effect, the capacity to kill was quite indiscriminate and turned the fighters into a dangerous menace to all other people, including their own families.[340]

THE RESTORATION OF DISINTEGRATED SELVES IN CANNIBALISM

That war among New Guinea natives-as among others-is not about anger but about the restoration of disintegrated selves caused by growth panic is most obvious in cannibalism, where the penis, tongue and muscles of the enemy were often eaten "to absorb the victim's strength."[341] It is good to have powerful enemies, they say, because they are good to kill and eat.[342] At the same time, all war restages early traumas, including infanticide as the Sambia myth says, "Numboolyu's wife, Chenchi, killed her first male child…Because she killed the first male child, we now fight-war."[343] Like contemporary cults that kill and eat babies,[344] training for killing children in New Guinea begins early. Mead reports: "It was considered necessary that every Tchambuli should in childhood kill a victim, and for this purpose live victims, usually infants or young children, were purchased from other tribes…The small boy's spearhand was held by his father, and the child, repelled and horrified, was initiated into the cult of head-hunting."[345]Whiting says "most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated…"[346] Many Fore children died of kuru, because they were forced to eat the brains of the dead.[347] The genitals, too, were choice morsels of cannibals, the victim's penis being eaten by the women and the vagina by the men; the children are reported to have had horrible nightmares after witnessing the feast.[348] The perverse ritual was so sexualized that Berndt reports that during the cannibalistic feast men sometimes copulate with the dead women's bodies they are about to eat and women pretend to copulate with the dead men's penis before eating it.[349] This is similar to the cannibalism of Jeffrey Dahmer, who also ritualized the killing and eating of body parts of his homosexual partners, saying "it made me feel as if they were even more a part of me."[350] So powerful is this notion of internalization through cannibalism that Meigs says among the Hua "it is feared that if a person fails to eat the corpse of his or her same-sex parent, that person…will become stunted and weak."[351] Obviously, eating the body of one's parent or of a friend is an extremely primitive form of repairing emotional loss: "When a good man died our bodies ached with hunger. We ate him and the pain cooled."[352]

THE PSYCHOGENIC PUMP AND EVOLUTIONARY STAGES IN NEW GUINEA

The over 700 distinct cultures in New Guinea show a definite if complex range of evolutionary stages of childrearing, psyche and society. The evolutionary ladder ranging from early to middle infanticidal mode-generally runs from the more southern and eastern "semen belt" of maternal incest and pederasty to the more evolved northern and western highlands "Big Man" areas. [353] Over the millennia, the more advanced parents migrated north and west, and those who did not evolve and who preferred the more violent, pederastic, less organized southern and eastern areas either remained there or drifted back from more advanced groups. Childrearing patterns show a definite areal distribution, centering on how much the mothers cling to their children: "In eastern highlands societies, where initiation is longest and most elaborate, boys appear to remain with their mothers and sleep in women's houses for a longer time than do boys in the western highlands where initiation is absent…[often in the east] men had little contact with their sons until the boys were ten years old or older [but] in some western highlands societies,

boys left their mothers earlier and much more gradually…boys moved to men's houses at about five years of age…"[354] This pattern follows Richman's cross-cultural findings that "as cultures evolve, the mother holds and makes physical contact against their infants less and talks more to them."[355] Because men in the less evolved areas were so sexually aroused by watching breast-feeding infants[356] and because contact with children was considered polluting,[357] they tended more either to avoid children, perhaps "only poking at it with a stick,"[358] or just use them sexually pederasty being found in "nearly all Lowlands cultures or groups…"[359] This confirms the cross-cultural finding that fathers tend to be more emotionally involved with children and use them as objects less as one goes up the evolutionary level of societies.[360] Fathers in southern areas will sometimes be described by the anthropologist as "bestowing his attentions" on his infant children, but then when the "attention" is described it usually turns out to be something like sucking its face or mouth, not helping it grow: "He will take it up and…mumble its face in the full-lipped manner which is an acknowledged form of caress…When the child is already running about and showing its independence, however, the father's interest seems to wane."[361] Fathers in the more evolved areas, in contrast, care more for their children from infancy, as in the Trobrianders, whose fathers are described by both Malinowsky and Weiner as "beloved, benevolent friends" to their children, "loving and tender" toward them.[362] Mothers in the western highlands are somewhat less afraid of their baby's independence, so they are allowed to crawl about more often and are in slings and cradles less. Shame rather than sexuality or fear is the central emotion that describes the relationship between child and parent,[363] evidence of the beginnings of a stable superego.

The cultures of these two areas are described as follows: "The production of 'men' [through pederasty and training as warriors] is seen to be the focus of cultural attention among Lowland groups, as is the production of "bigmen" {leaders of status] in the Highlands."[364] The former are stuck on the evolutionary ladder between foraging and primitive horticulture, while the latter have allowed enough innovation to develop better ways of irrigating crops and fencing pigs. Feil describes how there is an "archetypal social structure, economic pattern and social environment in which male initiations and sexual hostility flourish…at the eastern end and are all but absent or attenuated in the western highlands."[365] Since mothers are less engulfing in western highlands, fears of their pollution and hatred of women are less and therefore women are less exploited than in the east and south.[366] It is also not surprising that "In the eastern highlands, women were targets in hostile [warfare] encounters; in the western highlands, they were not.'[367] These more evolved western Big Man groups are able to construct more organized political and economic structures that are far more hierarchical than in the east and south, since they can stand more innovation without triggering growth panic, and thus can accumulate the surpluses of pigs and other exchange goods that their more complex societies revolve around. To actually trust a Big Man in economic exchange or in ritual feasts only comes from reducing the incestuous and pederastic use of children and replacing abandonment with the beginnings of tolerance for individuation. Warfare is also more organized and therefore more restricted in the Big Man societies,[368] sometimes occurring as inoften as every decade,[369] rather than having constant headhunting, cannibalistic and other raids as the less evolved groups do.

THE EMOTIONAL MEANING OF CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE

Ceremonial exchange is centered in the more evolved Western highlands area, and is usually said to be the cause of the more cooperative western highlands cultural behavior, but why gifts are

given with stingy self-interest in the east but with dramatic pride and extensive trust in the west is never explained.[370] The production of valuables for exchange and the beginnings of inequalities that more hierarchical social organization involves depends crucially on men's increasing ability to form male emotional systems that are effective in binding and reducing their fears of engulfing women, ultimately engulfing mothers. If these fears are overwhelming, all men can do is endlessly try to restore masculinity by raids and initiation tortures, whereas in more evolved groups "ceremonial exchange rather than killing is a way of asserting individual prowess."[371] If they are reduced somewhat, men begin to organize defense tactics, including political and religious structures, marriage alliances outside the group, ceremonial feasts and complex extra-clan trading connections, all designed to stress that men can cling together and even innovate and create art and more advanced agricultural economies without being eaten up by women. Thus they willingly endure submission to Big Men to avoid the worse fate of maternal engulfment and disintegration.

Some of the symbolism of ceremonial exchange has been already been discussed, such as the slaughtering of thousands of pigs in rituals that restage the infanticide of newborn babies. As mentioned, pigs are considered "almost children" and are even nursed by women, so when pigs are slaughtered in an exchange feast people "mourn and weep for their 'child' when it is killed as though it were a real child."[372] The ritual is an attempt to restage the infanticide in a more evolved way, by killing pigs in feasts not people in war.

The trading of shells under the leadership of Big Men also restages early traumas. Shells, like all fetishes, are said to give men a way of "undoing" the "killing of the child."[373] When men launch exchanges with other men, they are said to "resurrect" the newborn babies who were killed, to "give birth" to them and send them along paths to keep them from "dying."[374] The shells are of course traditional vaginal symbols, reddened with ochre to indicate poisonous menstrual blood, but they contain individuating marks that tell the tragic personal history of the maker:

The more "history" a pearlshell can display the more valuable it becomes…Men create pearlshells as they do the self…giving pearlshells to matrikin is to some extent, perhaps, a sacrifice of self, a presentation of one's own individuality to ensure a continued benevolent maternal influence…pearlshells allow men the illusion of producing wealth independently of women, even though, in the last analysis, it is women's reproduction which stimulates the flow of pearlshells.[375]

The shells sometimes have barkcloth bases underlying a skirt, said to be "a child attached to it," and also said to represent the "swallowing up" of men by women.[376] Gift exchanges are said to have the ability "to restore a man's bodily integrity from female pollution,"[377] and men fondle and gaze at their shells for hours, healing their hurts. Spending much of one's life arranging the "economically senseless"[378] circulation of various gifts cleansing poison containers (gift=poison in German)-has always been a conundrum to anthropologists because their symbolic basis in early childhood tragedies has been overlooked. The shells are so powerful a group-fantasy of the restoration of potency that they are said to be like semen: "the amount of semen and shells in circulation remains the cause of much male anxiety [and] they have to be kept hidden, tightly bound and wrapped, in the gloomy recesses of men's houses, as if their fragile and transient vitality has to be protected and conserved. This attribute of pearlshells compares strongly with

male fears about semen depletion…"[379] Yet ceremonial exchange systems are so effective in cleansing poisons and restoring potency that they dominate the political and economic life of the western highlands.

PSYCHOGENIC ARREST IN NEW GUINEA

Although New Guinea natives have evolved somewhat in the past ten millennia, they are certainly closer to the foraging and early horticultural cultures of our ancestors than the "peaceful" (actually pacified) groups in Africa that are so often used as models for early human groups. Yet the unanswered question about New Guinea remains: why have they evolved so little in the past ten millennia? They didn't get a late start, since agriculture began in New Guinea over 6,000 years ago, earlier than most other areas of the world that have vastly surpassed them in psychological and cultural evolution.[380] Indeed, the first foragers were in New Guinea 40,000 years ago,[381] and agriculture is considered to have developed independently there, so they actually had ecological conditions reasonably conducive to farming. It is true that they had no cereal crops nor domesticable large mammals (though they did have pigs and kangaroos),[382] but they shared this lack with other Pacific areas such as Hawaii and other Polynesian islands that evolved far higher levels of civilization than New Guinea. Diamond asks the crucial question: "Why did New Guineans continue to use stone tools instead of metal tools, remain non-literate, and fail to organize themselves into chiefdoms and states?"

Diamond's answers are: (1) too few people (1,000,000), (2) too difficult terrain (swamps and jungles), and (3) too much warfare (because of fragmented groups.)[383] Yet these are all conditions that cultural evolution conquers, since innovative natives elsewhere cleared jungle areas, introduced irrigation and created larger populations through more advanced political institutions. If New Guinea never reached the complex chiefdom level of Hawaii, it was because childrearing did not evolve enough to produce psychoclasses that were innovative enough to invent new cultural forms.

Diamond a priori rules out any variation in people's capacity for innovation, saying "all human societies contain inventive people."[384] But if, as we have been insisting here, childrearing evolution is the clue to cultural evolution and innovation, the crux of New Guinea's problems lie in their inability to evolve good mothers and hopeful daughters. Certainly their early infanticidal mode parenting and the resulting depth of their hatred and fear of women confirms this condition currently. But how have they been able to suppress psychogenesis for so long and why have they had so few evolving mothers and hopeful daughters?

Unfortunately, the study of the history of childhood in New Guinea is totally lacking, since childhood even today is considered so ideal. Archeology and ethnohistory never mention children,[385] so the basic materials needed to answer the question are simply missing. A few informed guesses is the best one can do at the moment.

To begin with, New Guinea was part of Australia when humans immigrated into it, so the parents were formed in one of the most arid regions in the world,[386] subject to periodic droughts that must have had some effect in devolving parenting. This may even have been severe enough to alter the genetic makeup of parents, thus passing parenting down both genetically and epigenetically through the generations. Confirming evidence for the effects of famine on the brain wiring of

fetuses is shown in the finding that babies who had prenatal exposure to famine during the Dutch Hunger Winter at the end of 1944 had higher rates of schizoid personality disorders,[387] because migration of brain cells through the neural subplate was disrupted, causing the faulty connections that are usually found in schizophrenics.[388] Secondly, the small size of island New Guinea may have inhibited the psychogenic pump effect, limiting migration enough so that early infanticidal mothering swamped the emergence of innovating mothers and hopeful daughters (even biologists sometimes call small islands "evolutionary traps.") And thirdly, the least evolved parenting in New Guinea is to the south, in small pederastic societies, while the most evolved is in the north, where the Trobrianders even managed to approach the level of a chiefdom. Anthropologists are puzzled as to "why the Trobriand Islanders have chiefs. They have neither exceptional population density nor agricultural productivity."[389] What is relevant to this question is that while most of New Guinea came from the Australian continent and speak Non-Austronesian languages, the Trobrianders and some other nearby groups came later mainly from Tiawan via other islands and speak Austronesian languages. Taiwan was far more advanced culturally-and one can assume also in parenting-when people migrated from there to New Guinea four thousand years ago, having grain crops, true weaving, metals, the bow and arrow and even water buffaloes by 4000 B.C.[390] Presumably their descendants began with a head start in childrearing compared to the natives further south of them. In nearby Austronesian-speaking Vanatinai, which was a stopover for those on their way to New Guinea, women are not feared and violence against women is rare, indicating more evolved childrearing than most of New Guinea.[391]

Yet these evolutionary speculations rest mainly on inferences that have yet to generate real archeological field studies, so to answer questions of relative rates of evolution of childhood and culture we must turn to the only area of the world in which the history of childhood has been studied: Europe. The evidence which I have found over the past four decades for the evolution of childhood and culture in Europe from its earliest days until today is contained in the final four chapters of this book.

Chapter 8: The Evolution of Childrearing

"Who would not shudder if he were given the chance of eternal death or life again as a child? Who would not choose to die?"
St. Augustine

Children throughout history have arguably been more vital, more gentle, more joyous, more trustful, more curious, more courageous and more innovative than adults. Yet adults throughout history have routinely called little children "beasts," "sinful," "greedy," "arrogant," "lumps of flesh," "vile," "polluted," "enemies," "vipers" and "infant fiends."[1] Although it is extraordinarily difficult to believe, parents until relatively recently have been so frightened of and have so hated their newborn infants that they have killed them by the billions, routinely sent them out to extremely neglectful wetnurses, tied them up tightly in swaddling bandages lest they be overpowered by them, starved, mutilated, raped, neglected and beat them so badly that prior to modern times I have not been able to find evidence of a single parent who would not today be put in jail for child abuse. I have searched so hard during the past three decades for any exceptions to this extremely abusive pattern that I have offered a prize to anyone who could find even one "good mother" prior to the eighteenth century-the definition being one who would not today be incarcerated for child abuse. No one so far has claimed the prize. Instead, historians have assumed that my evidence for routinely abusive parenting must be terribly exaggerated, since if it were true it "would mean parents acted in direct opposition to their biological inheritance," and surely evolution "wouldn't be so careless…as to leave us too immature to care properly for our offspring."[2]

It is not surprising that the existence of widespread child abuse throughout history has been viewed with disbelief.[3] In this chapter, the historical evidence for each childrearing practice will be presented, focusing on the actual statements made by caretakers and children so that one can understand the intrapsychic reasons behind the abuse and neglect and show how parents have struggled against restaging their own childhoods and have slowly evolved the more loving, empathic childrearing which has been achieved by some families in the modern world.

THE MISSING FATHER: CHILDHOOD IN THE GYNARCHY

The problem with the overly monolithic conception of a "patriarchy" wherein men dominate women both in society and in the family is that while no Bachofen-style "matriarchal" society has been found,[4] there is little evidence that until modern times fathers have been very much present in historical families. In our promiscuous chimpanzee ancestors, fathers were quite absent in child-rearing, so there are no "families,"[5] only grandmothers and mothers moving about with their children.[6] It is also likely that "there were no Neandertal families to begin with,"[7] since women and children lived in separate areas from the males in caves. Although Bachofen's "gynocratic state" is only slightly approximated in such tribes as the Iroquois, the Navajo, the Ashanti, and the Dahomeans,[8] the families themselves in preliterate cultures are usually run by

women, who often live in separate spaces from their husbands. In some, like the Ashanti, they have a "visiting husband…in which the husband and wife live with their respective mothers [and] at night the man 'visits' his wife in her house…"[9] In others, men spend much of their time in their own cult houses, and women in separate family or menstrual huts, "segregating themselves of their own accord."[10] Even when men lived with their wives, females took care of the children, although cross-cultural studies conclude that "in the majority of societies mothers are not the principal caretakers or companions of young children…older children and other female family members" mainly looking after them.[11] Although in a few very simple hunting tribes fathers are claimed to hold their infants, it turns out they are only hallucinating being fused with their mothers, "fondling the child as its mother does. He takes it to his breast and holds it there,"[12] or sucks its face in the traditional "full-lipped manner,"[13] using the infant as a breast substitute but not really caretaking. Even when the children are somewhat older, fathers are generally not the ones that teach them skills: "Among the Hadza, as a typical example, boys learn their bow-and-arrow hunting knowledge and techniques and their tracking skills mainly informally from other boys"[14] not their fathers.

The historical family, it turns out, cannot remotely be termed a "patriarchy" until modern times. It is in fact a *gynarchy*, composed of the grandmother, mother, aunts, unmarried daughters, female servants, midwives, neighbors called "gossips" who acted as substitute mothers, plus the children.[15] Fathers in traditional families may sometimes eat and sleep within the gynarchy, but they do not determine its emotional atmosphere, nor do they in any way attempt to raise the children. To avoid experiencing their own domination and abuse during childhood by females, men throughout history have instead set up androcentric political and religious spheres for male-only group-fantasy activities, contributing to the family gynarchy only some sustenance, periodic temper tantrums and occasional sexual service.

Evidence of fathers playing any real role in children's upbringing is simply missing until early modern times. In antiquity, I have been unable to find a single classical scholar who has been able to cite any instance of a father saying one word to his child prior to the age of seven.[16] Little children were occasionally shown as used by fathers as sensuous objects-as when in Aristophanes' *Wasps* the father says he "routinely enjoys letting his daughter fish small coins from his mouth with her tongue"[17]-but otherwise, scholars conclude, "In antiquity, women [and children] lived shut away [from men]. They rarely showed themselves in public [but] stayed in apartments men did not enter; they rarely ate with their husbands…they never spent their days together."[18] In Greece, for instance, "women had a special place. Larger houses at any rate had a room or suite of rooms in which women worked and otherwise spent much of their day, the women's apartments, the *gynaikonitis*, which Xenophon says was "separated from the men's quarters by a bolted door."[19] In two-story houses, the *gynaikonitis* would usually be upstairs."[20] The men's dining-room, the *andron*, was located downstairs near the entrance, guarding the women's quarters: "Here men in the family dined and entertained male guests…Vase-paintings do not depict Greek couples eating together."[21] This mainly vertical organization of most homes lasted well into the eighteenth century, when a new "structure of intimacy" began to be built, with rooms connected to each other on the same level.[22]

The women's area held the grandmother, the mother, the concubines, the slave nurses, the aunts and the children. Thus Herodotus could assume his reader would easily recognize families where

"a boy is not seen by his father before he is five years old, but lives with the women,"[23] and Aristotle could assume his readers' assent that "no male creatures take trouble over their young."[24] Ancient Greek, Roman and Jewish men had all-male eating clubs where women and children were not welcome.[25] Plato has Socrates suggest a possibly better home arrangement, with "dinners at which citizens will feast in the company of their children….In general, however, children ate with their mothers, not their fathers…Eating and drinking, far from offering the whole family an opportunity for communal activity, tended to express and reinforce cleavages within it."[26] Boys tended to remain in the gynarchy of their own or others' homes until their middle teens.[27]

The husband is usually missing from the homes of most earlier societies, and not just during their frequent military service. Evelyn Reed describes the early "matrifamily" as everywhere being ruled by mothers: "The family in Egypt…was matriarchal…The most important person in the family was not the father, but the mother. The Egyptian wife was called the 'Ruler of the House'…there is no corresponding term for the husband."[28] In rural Greek villages even today the mother owns the house, passes it on to her daughter as dowry, and continues to rule the house when her daughter has children.[29] Indeed, the husband was rarely with his family in antiquity-legislators sometimes suggest that in order to prevent population decline it would be a good idea for husbands to visit their wives occasionally and not just have sex with boys, as in Solon's law "that a man should consort with his wife not less than three times a month-not for pleasure surely, but as cities renew their agreements from time to time."[30] But for the most part, as Plutarch puts it, "Love has no connection whatsoever with the women's quarters;"[31] it is reserved for pederastic relations with boys. As Scroggs summarized Greco-Roman practice, "To enter the 'women's quarters' in search of love is to enter the world of the feminine and therefore is effeminate for a male."[32] Xenophon says "the women's apartments [are] separated from the men's by a bolted door…"[33] As Plutarch wrote, "Genuine love has no connections whatsoever with the women's quarters."[34] When Socrates asks, "Are there any people you talk to less than you do to your wife?" his answer was, "Possibly. But if so, very few indeed."[35] Men stayed in the thiasos, the men's club, with other men, and had little to do with their children. Greek boys stayed in the gynarchy of their own home until they at the age of about ten were forced to be eromenos, sexual objects, in the andron of a much older man's home.[36] Greek girls stayed in the gynarchy until they were about twelve, when they too were raped by a much older man, a stranger chosen for them by their family to be their husband. The father might try to enforce an occasional dominance of the gynarchy by beating the women and children, as Seneca described his father doing, usually for the most "trivial actions,"[37] but usually it was the women of the household who wielded the family whip on their children.

The gynarchy ruled supreme in early homes. In Byzantium, women had separate spheres with strict exclusion of men from the family, where "men live in light and brightness, the *palaestra*; women live in the *gynaecaeum*, enclosed, secluded."[38] This was even true of supposedly patriarchal Chinese families. The Chinese gynarchy was described by visitors as living in "women's apartments behind the high walls of their husbands' compounds," dominated by women who "are reputed to terrorize the men of their households and their neighbors with their fierce tempers, searing tongues, and indomitable wills…When father and son do work together, they have nothing to say, and even at home they speak only when there is business to discuss. [Otherwise] they mutually avoid each other."[39] Likewise, in Indonesian families, "fathers are

simply not present very much…the woman has more authority, influence and responsibility than her husband…"[40] The examples can easily be extended around the world and into the Middle Ages:

the female world was highly structured, like a little monarchy-that monarchy wielded by the master's wife, the 'lady' who dominated the other women in the house. This monarchy was often tyrannical. The chronicles of French families at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century paint a picture of shrews reigning brutally over servants whom they terrorized, and over their sons' wives whom they tormented…Indeed, a female power existed which rivaled that of men…Men were afraid of women, especially their own wives, afraid of being incapable of satisfying a being who was seen both as a devourer and as a bearer of death…[41]

Feminist historians have pioneered in uncovering the evidence revealing families as gynarchies, saying "the need to keep women in line revealed permanent high tension in men around a being with disquieting power."[42] Men are shown as being excluded from the traditional "gynaeceum":[43]the nursery, the kitchen, the work bees, even the laundry: "No man would dare approach the laundry, so feared is this group of women…"[44]Women are depicted as ruling both their husbands and their children, who are often shown as fearing them,[45] and while husbands are hopefully told in moralist's instruction manuals about the "Duties of a Husband" to instruct their wives, the sections on the "Duties of a Father" to care for their children are nowhere to be found until modern times.[46] Most fathers agreed with Abelard, who, after he got Heloise pregnant, sent her away, admitting, "Who can bear the screams of children…Who can tolerate the unclean and continuous soilings of babies?"[47] As Buchan wrote, "Men generally keep at such a distance from even the smallest acquaintance with the affairs of the nursery [and] is not ashamed to give directions concerning the management of his dogs or horses, yet would blush were he surprised in performing the same office for [his] heir…"[48] Since children of the upper classes were sent out to wetnurse and then to school, many adults could agree with Talleyrand when he stated that he "had never slept under the same roof with his father and mother."[49] Fathers were so distant that most could agree with Vandermonde, who said, "One blushes to think of loving one's children."[50] When their children died, most fathers, like William Byrd, revealed no signs of grief, writing in their diaries the night of the death only that they had "good thoughts and good humor."[51] Should a father try to play with his child, they were unable to summon the empathy needed to understand its capacities, as seen in the following typical interaction:

A gentleman was playing with his child of a year old, who began to cry. He ordered silence; the child did not obey; the father then began to whip it, but this terrified the child and increased its cries…The father thought the child would be ruined unless it was made to yield, and renewed his chastisement with increased severity….On undressing it, a pin was discovered sticking into its back.[52]

By the nineteenth century, some fathers began to relate to their children with some empathy, yet even they were seen as rare, as when Grigorii Belynskii was described as "the only father in the city who understood that in raising children it is not necessary to treat them like cattle."[53] Even those who began at this time to criticize "paternal neglect," like John Abbott, said it was the father's sole task "to teach his children to obey their mother."[54] It wasn't actually until late

socializing mode fathers came along that they actually began some caretaking, pushing prams and otherwise trying to live up to the New Fatherhood proclamations of the twentieth century.[55] Yet even though there are some fathers today who are helping mode parents and who spend equal time with their wives caring for their children,[56] various time surveys in America still show that working fathers spend only about 12 to 18 minutes per day with their young children,[57] without even counting the one-third of all babies who are born to unmarried women.[58] The gynarchy, it appears, still reigns supreme, and fathers around the world have yet to seriously embrace the tasks and joys of fatherhood.

GIRLS HAD WORSE CHILDHOODS THAN BOYS

The problem with having only women raising children is that parenting is an emotionally demanding task, requiring considerable maturity, and throughout history girls have grown up universally despised. When a girl was born, said the Hebrews, "the walls wept."[59] Japanese lullabies sang, "If it's a girl, stamp on her."[60] In medieval Muslim cultures "a grave used to be prepared, even before delivery, beside the woman's resting place [and] if the new-born was a female she was immediately thrown by her mother into the grave."[61] "Blessed is the door out of which goes a dead daughter" was a popular Italian proverb that was meant quite literally.[62] Girls from birth have everywhere been considered full of dangerous pollution-the projected hatred of adults-and were therefore more often killed, exposed, abandoned, malnourished, raped and neglected than boys. Girls in traditional societies spent most of their growing up years trying to avoid being raped by their neighbors or employers and thereby being forced into a lives of prostitution. To expect horribly abused girls to magically become mature, loving caretakers when as teenagers they go to live as virtual slaves in a strange family simply goes against the conclusions of every clinical study we have showing the disastrous effects of trauma upon the ability to mother.[63]

As we have seen in Chapter 5, mothers earlier in history mainly saw their children as their own screaming, needy, dominating mothers-forming what Nancy Chodorow terms a "hypersymbiotic relationship"[64] -wherein the child is expected to make up for all the love missing in the mother's own life, cure her post-partum depression and restore her vitality. Like acutely disturbed destructive mothers in current clinical studies who "indifferently admit the desire to abuse, rape, mutilate, or kill a child, any child,"[65] mothers in the past feared their infants' crying so much they were determined to "never let a child have anything it cries for…I think it right to withhold it steadily, however much the little creature may cry…and the habit of crying would be broken."[66] The need to shut up the mother's angry voice in babies lead to their being tied up, neglected and beaten. Tiny infants were experienced as being so destructive that, according to Augustine, "If left to do what he wants, there is no crime he will not plunge into."[67] In fact, infants were felt to be so full of badness that when they died they were often buried under rain gutters so the water would wash off their inborn pollution.[68] An average mother in the past was like the extremely disturbed mother of today, described by clinical studies, whose "death wishes she harboured unconsciously towards her [own] mother are now experienced in relation to the child [so that] death pervades the relationship between mother and child [with the mother often reporting,] 'I can remember hurling the baby down on the pillows once, and just screaming, and not caring. I wanted to kill him really…I hated the baby for constantly being there.'"[69] Many mothers today admit that they must struggle against feeling "dominated, exploited, humiliated, drained and criticized by their babies," saying they sometimes "want to hurt them, get rid of

them, squash them like a pancake, or beat them into silence."[70] Mothers in the past, unfortunately, less often won the maternal love/hate struggle because their own formative years were so much less nurturant. The baby in the past must not need anything, but must just give love solely to the emotionally-deprived mother:

Augustus Hare's account of his childhood provides an insight into such relationships…He could never express a wish to his mother, as she would have thought it her duty to refuse it. 'The will is the thing that needs to be brought into subjection,' she said…[Once] his mother, finding him much attached to a household cat, ceremoniously hanged the cat in the garden, so that he should have no object but her to love.[71]

Mothers hallucinated their children as maternal breasts with such intensity that they were constantly licking and sucking their faces, lips, breasts and genitals,[72] feeling so needy from their own loveless childhoods that they expected their children to care for them emotionally as they grow up. Instead, mothers confessed, "children eat you up…you are sucked dry by them…my children sucked me dry; all my vitality is gone."[73] It is only when one realizes their own severe neglect and abuse and the extent to which their babies are poison containers for their feelings that one can begin to understand why mothers in the past routinely killed, neglected and abused their children. What is miraculous-*and what is the source of most social progress*-is that mothers throughout history have slowly and successfully struggled with their fear and hatred with so little help from others and have managed to evolve the loving, empathic childrearing one can find in many families around the world today.

CHILD SACRIFICE AS PUNISHMENT FOR SUCCESS

The act of having a child is, says Rheingold, "the most forbidden act of self-realization, the ultimate and least pardonable offense," and brings with it inevitable fears of maternal retribution for one's success and individuation.[74] Mothers in antiquity hallucinated female demons-Lamia, Gorgo, Striga, Empusa-who were actually grandmother alters in the mothers' heads, so jealous of their having babies that they sucked out their blood and otherwise murdered them.[75] Even today peasant villages fear the outbreak of "angry, malevolent, dangerous" hallucinations that surround the newborn and threaten the mother and even keep the nursery room boarded up with the door barred to prevent the intrusion of dangerous spirits.[76] All early societies invented sacrificial rituals wherein babies were tortured and killed to honor maternal goddesses, from Anit to Kali, vowing that, "although Mommy wants to kill me for having sex and making a baby, if I kill the baby instead [usually the first-born was sacrificed], I can then go on having sex and other babies with less fear of retribution."

The severely immature parents of the past felt under such constant threat for success by malevolent forces-maternal alters-that their own children were constantly being used as poison containers for their disowned feelings. As one informant in a contemporary rural Greek community put it, "When you're angry a demon gets inside of you. Only if a pure individual passes by, like a child for instance, will the bad leave you, for it will fall on the unpolluted."[77] The dynamics are clear: the "demon inside you" is the alter, the "unpolluted child" is the poison container. A typical child sacrifice for parental success can be seen in Carthage, where archeologists have found a child cemetery called The Tophet that is filled with over 20,000 urns containing bones of children sacrificed by the parents, who would make a vow to kill their next

child if the gods would grant them a favor-for instance, if their shipment of goods were to arrive safely in a foreign port.[78] They placed their children alive in the arms of a bronze statue of "the lady Tanit…the hands of the statue extended over a brazier into which the child fell once the flames had caused its limbs to contract and its mouth to open…the child was alive and conscious when burned…Philo specified that the sacrificed child was best-loved."[79]

Child sacrifice was the foundation of all great religions, depicted in myths as absolutely necessary to save the world from "chaos," that is, from terrible inner annihilation anxiety as punishment for success. Maccoby's book, *The Sacred Executioner: Human Sacrifice and the Legacy of Guilt*, portrays the entire history of religion as dramas featuring a vengeful, bloodthirsty Sacred Executioner, demonstrating that the role of children, from Isaac to Christ, was to act as sacrifices for the sins of the parents.[80] Behind even male gods demanding sacrifice are Avenging Terrible Mothers of Death, says Lederer-Belili, Inanna, Tiamat, Ishtar, Astarte, Lilith, Hathor-Sekhmet, Izanami, Chicomecoatl-all Mother alters in the brains of the new parents, demanding revenge for the hubris of daring to be a parent.[81] The wealthier the family, the more children had to be sacrificed to the goddess, representing the infant's furious grandmother.[82]

Child sacrifices have been found from the beginning of human history: decapitated skeletons of early hominid children have been found, with evidence of cannibalism, as their parents ate them on behalf of the spirits of their life-devouring grandmothers;[83] young children were buried with their skulls split by an ax at Woodhenge/Stonehenge;[84] decapitated infant sacrifices to the Great Goddess were found at Jericho;[85] early Arabians sacrificed their daughters to "the mothers;"[86] the serpent goddess of the Aztecs demanded skull and heart sacrifice of children, including the eating of the children's bodies and covering themselves with their blood;[87] Mayan and Incan sacrificed children are still being discovered in the South American mountains, along with children who have been killed by drug dealers to ward off revenge for their successful cocaine runs.[88] The need to sacrifice children to ward off fears of success was so powerful that right through medieval times, when people built new buildings, walls or bridges, little children were sealed in them alive as "foundation sacrifices" to ward off the angry, avenging spirits, alters of parents who felt envious of the accomplishments of their children.[89]

Even when children died in the past from natural causes, the sources often reveal a deep satisfaction by the parents. Sometimes an adult recalled their mother's death wishes in their memoirs-a typical passage occurs when Leopardi remembers clearly of his mother that

When she saw the death of one of her infants approaching, she experienced a deep happiness, which she attempted to conceal only from those who were likely to blame her….When, as several times happened, she seemed likely to lose an infant child, she did not pray God that it should die, since religion forbids it, but she did in fact rejoice.[90]

Over and over again death wishes are revealed in the historical sources, breaking out when interacting with children. Epictetus admitted, "What harm is there if you whisper to yourself, at the very moment you are kissing your child, and say 'Tomorrow you will die?'"[91] Another recalled his mother tucking him into bed nightly with the words, "Soon my son you will exchange the bed for the grave, and your clothes for a winding sheet."[92]The deaths of children were rarely mourned: mothers were commonly reported to have "regarded the death of various

daughters at school with great equanimity" and fathers to "cheerfully remark when two of his fifteen children died that he still had left a baker's dozen."[93] Often adults recorded in their diaries a vow to have "the Lord" (the parent's parental alter) kill the child, as Cotton Mather did as each of his children died:

I resigned the Child unto the Lord; my Will was extinguished. I could say, My Father, Kill my Child, if it be thy Pleasure to do so…I had rather have him dy in his Infancy, than live in cursed and lothsome Wickedness…[my dead child is] a Family-Sacrifice…I would endeavour exceedingly to glorify God, by making a Sacrifice of the lovely Child…[94]

As we will see in the sections that follow on infanticide, mutilation and abandonment, parents are the child's most lethal enemy, because inside the parents' psyches lie a powerful, dangerous alter that is their own parent's death wishes toward the child.

INFANTICIDE AS CHILD SACRIFICE

Mothers who feel like killing their newborn children today are clinically found to be deeply depressed and lonely, because, according to Rheingold's study of 350 filicidal mothers, "It is only the fear of being a woman that can create the infanticidal impulse…having a child is the most forbidden act of self-realization…punishment is inescapable and punishment means annihilation…To appease the mother she must destroy the child, but the child is a love object too. To preserve the child she must renounce mother… She is trapped in a desperate conflict: kill mother and preserve the baby or kill the baby and preserve the mother."[95] Mothers in the past routinely chose killing the baby, by the billions, driven to it by her devil alter (her own destructive mother image in her head).

8:1 Mother commits infanticide with help of her devil alter

In my previous articles on infanticide, I have shown that boy/girl sex ratios of preliterate tribes average 128/100, while boy/girl ratios from census and other sources in European history ranged from as high as 400/100 to 140/100 in the middle ages.[96] With Indian and Chinese boy/girl ratios in the nineteenth century running at 300/100 and higher,[97] and with current Asian statistics still

showing over 200 million girls "missing" in the census figures,[98] I have determined that it is likely that overall infanticide rates of both sexes exceeded 30 percent in antiquity and only slowly declined to the very small rate in advanced societies today.[99] Multiplying these infanticide rates by the 80 billion human births in the past 100,000 years[100]-80 percent of them occurring before 1750, and even more of them occurring in areas with high Asian-style infanticide rates-a weighted average infanticide rate for the entire 80 billion births was likely at the very least 15 percent, or 12 billion children killed by their parents.

Even this astonishing figure is not the whole story of infanticide, however. Every study of infant death rates among children sent out to wetnurses and abandoned in foundling homes shows much higher death rates, running to over 70 per cent and higher, even in modern times.[101] Doctors of every age agreed that "the most profound cause of the terrific waste of infant life [is] neglect…neglected by their own mothers and neglected by the nurses to whom they were abandoned…"[102] Since parents who sent their children to wetnurse and foundling homes knew quite well they would likely not see them again-indeed, often they were sent to so-called "killing wetnurses" with a small sum of money under the tacit assumption that they would not be returned[103]-these "delayed infanticide" acts must be added to the estimated rate of child killing, increasing it by at the very least a third, or a total of 16 billion children killed by parental acts over the entire historical span. No wonder people in the past so often said that everywhere in their areas "you could hear coming out of the bottom of latrines and ponds and rivers the groanings of the children that one had thrown there."[104]

Although poverty played some part in this holocaust of children, it is doubtful if it was the main cause of child deaths. In the first place, the cost of bringing up a girl is no more than the cost of bringing up a boy, so the differential infanticide rates are certainly parental choices. When, for instance, Arabs dug a grave next to the birthing place of every new mother so "if the newborn child was a female she could be immediately thrown by her mother into the grave,"[105] it was likely hatred of girls, not poverty, that was the motive. Secondly, if scarce resources were the main cause, then wealthy parents should kill less than poor. But the historical record shows exactly the opposite: historical boy/girl ratios are higher among wealthy parents,[106] where economic necessity is no problem at all. Even in early modern England, the infant mortality rates for wealthy children were higher than the same rates for ordinary farmers, day laborers and craftsman.[107] Thirdly, many wealthy high civilizations such as Greece, Rome, China, India, Hawaii and Tahiti are very infanticidal, especially among their elite classes. As one visitor to Hawaii reported, there probably wasn't a single mother who didn't throw one or more of her children to the sharks.[108] There were even societies where virtually all newborn were killed to satisfy their overwhemling infanticidal needs, and infants had to be imported from adjoining groups to continue the society.[109]Finally, many nations-like in Japan until recently-kill their children selectively in order to balance out an equal number of boys and girls, a practice called *mabiki*, or "thinning out" the less promising ones,[110] again revealing a quite different motive than the purely economic. It is most certainly not economics that causes so many depressed women on the delivery tables even today to implore their mothers not to kill them after they have given birth.[111] Women since the beginning of time have felt that their children "really" belonged to God-a symbol of the grandmother, and that "the child was a gift that God had every right to reclaim."[112] When killing her child, therefore, the mother was simply acting as her own mother's avenger.

We are left, unfortunately, with what one psychoanalyst calls our "universal resistance to acknowledging the mother's filicidal drives, undoubtedly the most dreaded and uncanny truth for us to face."[113] Our only defenses are denial and dissociation, like people in the past, who regularly dissociated from the emotional impact of their murder of their innocent little children by sayings such as, "Do we not cast away from us our spittle, lice and such which are engendered out of our own selves," "mad dogs we knock on the head [and] we drown even children at birth," "when children die there is no need to get excited…one is born every year…live and let die."[114] Both mothers and fathers knew their own parents demanded a death; both struggled against the grandparents' dire threat to kill them if they dare to became parents themselves. What helped the dissociation was such beliefs as denying that the babies were human, so during most of history, East and West, if the mother would kill the newborn before it took any nourishment, it wasn't considered "really born," it wasn't human yet.[115]

Usually it was the mother or one of the other women of the gynarchy who did the killing, in the past as in the present,[116] usually violently, smashing in the baby's head, crushing it between her knees, asphyxiating it against her breasts, sitting on it, or throwing it alive into the privy, with the mother sometimes earning the nickname of "child-stabber" or "child-crusher."[117] It helped to have gynecological writings like Soranus's on "How to Recognize the Newborn That Is Worth Rearing" to rationalize the infanticide.[118] It helped to share the blame for the murder with your children, who were often made to help the mother kill their newborn siblings, and who would then be more likely to restage the murder upon their own newborn.[119] It helped to have daemonic beliefs like those still held in rural Greece that Evil Spirits had turned the newborn into a changling, a demon baby, a *Striga*, which had to be strangled to protect the mother from harm.[120] The mother's struggle against the urge to kill her children was (and is) usually a conscious one, and the role of the dissociated parental alter is often evident-as when mothers today tell therapists that "someone keeps talking to me in my mind telling me to choke my daughter" or as when Medea struggled against killing her children, saying, "I know what wickedness I am about to do; but the thumos is stronger than my purposes, thumos, the root of our mankind's worst acts."[121] But the feeling of being driven by the Destructive Mother alter, the struggle against killing one's baby and the severe postpatrum depression were all universal for mothers in traditional societies, and sixteen billion murdered children were the result of losing the sacrificial battle.

Opposition by society to infanticide was negligible until modern times. Jews considered any child who died within thirty days after birth, even by violence, to have been a "miscarriage."[122] Most ancient societies openly approved of infanticide, and although Roman law, in response to Christianity, made infanticide a capital offense in 374 C.E., no cases have been found punishing it.[123] Anglo-Saxons actually considered infanticide a virtue, not a crime, saying, "A child cries when he comes into the world, for he anticipates its wretchedness. It is well for him that he should die…he was placed on a slanting roof [and] if he laughed, he was reared, but if he was frightened and cried, he was thrust out to perish."[124] Prosecutions for infanticide before the modern period were rare.[125] Even medieval penitentials excused mothers who killed their newborn before feeding them.[126] By Puritan times, a few mothers began being hanged for infanticide.[127] But even in the nineteenth century it was still "not an uncommon spectacle to see the corpses of infants lying in the streets or on the dunghills of London and other large cities.[128] The English at the end of the century had over seven million children enrolled in "burial

insurance societies;" with the infant mortality rate at 50 percent, parents could easily collect the insurance by killing their child. As one doctor said, "sudden death in infants is too common a circumstance to be brought before the attention of the coroner…Free medical care for children was refused…'No, thank you, he is in two burial clubs' was a frequent reply to offers of medical assistance for a sick child. Arsenic was a favorite poison…"[129]

Century after century, the children in traditional societies who survived remembered the cries of their murdered brothers and sisters, feared their murderous parents, believed themselves unworthy of living, irredeemably bad, and grew up to inflict the killings on their own children.

MUTILATING CHILDREN'S BODIES

In the previous chapter, the propensity of preliterate tribes to cut, burn and otherwise mutilate the bodies of their children was discussed, particularly the role of genital mutilation, where during initiation rites boys' penises are sliced open under the conviction that it was necessary to expel the "mothers blood and bad words" that had lodged in them. The powerful need to mutilate children's bodies is found in nearly all cultures in some form, and reaches back to the Paleolithic caves where handprints on the walls[130] show clearly that children's fingers were cut off in the widespread belief by many cultures that the Devil (the destructive parental alter) demanded a child's finger to appease his wrath. Frazer documented these finger sacrifice rituals in many cultures, and sanctuaries have been found as far back as the Neolithic with finger bones, right up through ancient Greek times, when, Pausanias reported, finger sacrifice rituals were still performed to pacify pursuing demons.[131] Finger amputation was also endemic in Ocean, Polynesia and among North American Indians.[132]

But more often it is the genitals, head or feet of children which are assaulted; as the Canadian Intuit Eskimos say, "A hurt baby is more lovable!" and mothers who feel affectionate toward their infants are reported as commonly "slapping it, squeezing it tightly, or biting it until it bursts into tears."[133] Few mothers even today are free of dreams in which their babies are badly hurt, though most are able to laugh off the impulses and perhaps only be overprotective toward their infants. But Rheingold's clinical studies reveal many mothers ward off maternal retribution for having the baby by what he terms a "mutilation impulse," which he finds mainly directed toward the genitals of the boy and the girl and toward the "insides" of the girl's body, producing in boys severe castration anxieties and "a fear of femaleness" in girls, including fears of injury to the pelvic region.[134]

Cutting off parts or all of the girl's genitals is a widespread practice,[135] possibly reaching back to Paleolithic times since a stone knife is often used, and is still practiced in preliterate tribes from Africa to Australia, where the girl's vagina is torn open with a stone knife and the child is then gang raped.[136] Historical evidence dates from ancient Egypt, where mummies have been found with clitoral excision and labial fusions,[137] and Greek physicians like Soranos and Aetius regularly advocated the removal of a girl's clitoris if it was "overly large" so she would not be overly lustful.[138]

8:2 A girl in Cairo is mutilated by her Mother

There are over 100 million Arab females today who have had their genitals chopped off, having been told that "if the clitoris is left alone, it will grow and drag on the ground, and if left uncircumcised, they will be wild and…grow up horny."[139] Often the girl's labia are cut off in addition to the clitoris, and the remaining flesh is sewn together, leaving only a small opening for urination. The vagina must therefore be cut open again before intercourse, and the women have great difficulty giving birth and often are further cut to allow the baby to pass through.

During the mutilations-usually done around the age of six with rusty knives by the women of the gynarchy-the girls undergo excruciating pain, sometimes die of complications, usually hemorrhage, and often pass out from the shock since no anaesthetic is used.[140] The ritual-which is not a religious rite and is nowhere mentioned in the Koran-is accompanied by the joyful shouting and chanting of the women, shouting, "now you are a woman," "Bring her the groom now." "Bring her a penis, she is ready for intercourse," etc.[141] They act out in manic ritual Rheingold's dicta that destructive mothers "seem to have the urge to destroy her daughter's femaleness: her external genitals, her 'insides'…her total sexuality."[142] It is not surprising that the overwhelming majority of circumcised girls grow up to be frigid. Female circumcision was practiced historically in various groups from Russia to Latin America,[143] and was even inflicted on girls "who masturbated too much" in Europe and America in the nineteenth century, using a red hot iron to burn away the little girl's clitoris.[144]

Circumcision for boys might be thought of as less traumatic since it involves only removal of the foreskin, a far less painful and serious mutilation. Yet in many cultures circumcision of boys is quite painful, as when Moslem boys are circumcised between the ages of 3 and 7 in a painful, bloody ceremony, after which "he is placed on his mother's naked back [so] that his bleeding penis presses against her. His mother dances along with the other women until he stops crying."[145] That this ceremony is connected with the incestuous feelings of the mother is apparent from the fact that genital mutilation is far more likely found in societies where the little boy sleeps with his mother while the father sleeps elsewhere.[146] Circumcision of boys-practiced from Egypt and Africa to Peru and Polynesia[147]-makes them into "little mothers," with the peeling away of the foreskin uncovering the glans so that it can act as a maternal nipple. That circumcision of boys is still practiced so regularly in America is a testimony to the continuing ubiquity of parental assault on the sexuality of children.[148]

But the more serious genital mutilation of boys that occurred throughout history, East and West, was castration. Eunichs were found in most cultures, beginning as a sacrificial rite to early goddeses: "piles of freshly severed genitals lay beneath the altars in Egyptian temples, where hundreds of virile youths were initiated daily into male prostitution."[149] In addition, castration was necessary to satisfy all the men who preferred hairless castrated boys to rape, plus all those used as harem keepers, palace officials, boy singers, actors and many other roles thought to require castrates.[150] Nero was said to enjoy the use of eunuchs in his orgies, even marrying one of them.[151] When parents sent their boys to aristocratic households for sexual use, they were said to sometimes cut off their genitals and keep them in a jar.[152] Eunuchs were especially popular in Byzantium, while in the West Verdun was widely known as "the great eunuch factory." In some Italian towns, boys who were destined for the clergy were castrated at an early age; in Naples, signs hung above stores, "Boys castrated here."[153] Many cultures castrated boys when they are just infants, claiming they "really wanted" to be girls. They are then used as women, sexually and otherwise, when they grow up, as in the *hijras*of India or the *berdaches* of American Indian tribes.[154] The testicles of these boys were either torn from them, crushed or seared off them with red-hot irons, usually between the ages of 3 and 7; in China, "both the penis and scrotum were removed with one cut."[155] Castration of boys continued until recently in the Middle East, followed by burial of the mutilated boy in hot sand for several days to reduce hemorrhage-only one in five surviving the bloody operation.[156] Some societies had variations of circumcision that approached castration, as in some Arab tribes where they performed salkh, which "consisted of flaying and removing all of the skin of the penis…"[157]

The ancients' more usual assault on boys' genitals, however-called infibulation-was less painful, though longer lasting. Since they were so deprived of maternal love, ancients saw the boy's glans as an exciting nipple ("it strikes terror and wonder in the heart of man") and felt they needed to hide it, so they drew the prepuce foreword, drilled two holes in it, and closed it up with a ring, pin or clamp.[158] Infibulated penises are regularly shown in drawings of Greeks and Roman athletes and was popular until modern times.[159] The same practice in the East is called *mohree*, sewing or cauterizing the prepuce over the glans, preventing erection; to this day some Japanese athletes use infibulation to prevent the loss of their strength, which could evaporate through the glans.[160] Aztec parents cut both boys' and girls' genitals regularly throughout their childhood, the blood being used in a sacrifice to their goddess, a ritual which was said to "cleanse one's heart of the guilt that could drive a person crazy."[161]Indeed, one is tempted to give the Aztecs the prize for the most sacrificial parenting, since they were routinely sacrificed, cut, tied to cradleboards, holes drilled in their lips, drugged, burned over fires, starved, stuck with spines, thrown naked into icewater, tortured and battered nearly every day of their lives.[162] But this would be a mistake. Aztec childhood was simply more fully described, by visitors from Europe. Equally graphic were those who described the ancient Chinese habit of beheading or strangling children who were "guilty of addressing abusive language to his or her father or mother"[163] or of the nineteenth-century Yugoslav practice of smearing infants with excrement and holding them over the fire or pushing them into a bread-oven to cure "bewitchment."[164]

Parents in traditional societies couldn't keep their hands off their little babies; they simply were compelled to hurt and torture them. The first thing most Western societies did to the newborn up until the twentieth century was cut the ligament under their tongue with their thumbnail,

assaulting them in advance for what they experienced as maternal tongue-lashing.[165] Then their heads and genitals would be forcibly "shaped":

Long heads would be reshaped, indeed all babies' heads would be reshaped to make the conform to the desired shape. The nose would be corrected…the nurse would gentle stretch the end of the foreskin every day…The scrotum would also be massaged…[166]

Severe cranial deformation can be seen in the drawings of Egyptian, Aztec, Huns, Native American and other children, as their head was routinely put between two boards, one of the back of the head and the other on the forehead, so as to squash the head into the angle formed by the boards-a practice found as far back as the Neanderthals and continuing "throughout much of Europe, especially in Holland and France, until the middle of the nineteenth century."[167]

Particularly widespread was the impulse to burn children. Traditional Arab children had burn marks all over their body from being burned by their parents with red-hot irons or pins.[168] English newspapers often reported parents "stirring up the fire with [children's] feet so that their toes rotted off…But we don't hear that there are any proceedings against her on this score."[169] The regular use of applying burning *Mona* to the child's body is still common in Japan.[170] Pouring scalding hot water ("iron water") over children was supposed to be curative in Eastern European therapy.[171] Similar results are ascribed to the Italian medieval practice of, "as soon as children be born, they cauterize or burn them in the neck with a hot iron, or else drop a burning wax candle upon the place…they think the brain is dried, and by pain the humour which doth flow is drawn to the hinder part of the head."[172] Every kind of excuse is given for the torture of children. Parents of every period force children who have soiled their bed, to consume their own excrement.[173] Particularly crippling were mutilations like Chinese footbinding, which breaks the bones of little girls so their flesh deteriorates, all done in order to make the big toe stick out (as a penis substitute) so men could masturbate against it during the sex act.[174]

THE LACK OF EMPATHY TOWARD CHILDREN AND MALNUTRITION IN HISTORY

Every childrearing practice in traditional societies around the globe betrays a profound lack of empathy toward one's children. This should not, however, be simply seen as a result of poverty or even "the brutality of human nature." These parents are in thrall to their own mothers' alters, demanding the torture and sacrifice of their grandchildren. A typical example of this thralldom can be seen in the following observation of a visitor to Italy who describes a popular religious festival:

The most striking object of the solemnities is a procession [in which] a colossal car is dragged by a long team of buffaloes through the streets. Upon this are erected a great variety of objects, such as the sun, moon, and principal planets, set in rotary motion…The heart sickens at sight of it [for] bound to the rays of sun and moon, to the circles forming the spheres of the various planets, are infants yet unweaned, whose mothers, for the gain of a few ducats, thus expose their offspring, to represent the cherub escort which is supposed to accompany the Virgin [Mary] to heaven.

When this huge machine has made its jolting round, these helpless creatures…having been whirled round and round for a period of seven hours, are taken down from this fatal machine,

already dead or dying. Then ensues a scene impossible to describe-the mothers struggling with each other, screaming, and trampling each other down. It not being possible, on account of the number, for each mother to recognize her own child among the survivors, one disputes with the other the identity of her infant…The less fortunate mothers, as they receive the dead bodies of their infants, often already cold, rend the air with their fictitious lamentations, but consoled with the certainty that Maria, enamoured of her child, has taken it with her into Paradise.[175]

The Mother Mary-symbol of the infant's grandmother-is shown as demanding possession of the child even unto death. The mothers give up their child's life to the infanticidal grandmother happily, knowing they are thereby being good little girls who obey the destructive wishes of their mothers.

This destructive grandmother-alter in every mothers' head is the missing factor in historians' accounts of the ubiquitous cruelty toward children in the past. Edward Shorter, for instance, effectively counters the "poverty" argument for "the manifest callousness" with which children were treated in the past by showing how upper- and middle-class mothers "got the money for large weddings, dowries, and militia uniforms…yet omitted just as much as did the laborers to breast-feed infants while alive, and to grieve for them when dead."[176] Indeed, almost every mother who could afford to send their newborn out to wetnurses did so, even when the wetnurses fed them pap, not breast milk, and even though their child was more than likely to die from the wetnurse's callous treatment. In fact, mothers in the past seemed unable to even empathize enough with their infants to notice when they were hungry. Doctors throughout the centuries in all parts of the world routinely reported that "babies should only be fed two to three times in twenty-four hours."[177] Héroard's diary of little Louis XIII showed that despite over a dozen nurses and caretakers being assigned to provide for his needs, he was regularly malnourished, even close to death.[178] Even princesses as late as the eighteenth century were regularly reported to be "naked and dying of hunger."[179] Mothers and nurses in the past were closer than one wishes to admit to the mother chimpanzees whom we discussed in the previous chapter, who cannot empathize with their weaned babies enough to give them food or water or even to show them how to get it, so that one-third starve to death during the weaning crisis.[180] Human mothers, however, go far beyond this lack of empathy, and purposely starve their children in fasting or punishment rituals so beloved by many societies in the past.[181] Buchan's conclusion that "almost one half of the human species perish in infancy by improper management or neglect"[182] is quite accurate, and by no means restricted to the poor. When babies cried, mothers heard their own mothers' demanding voices, and only wanted to quiet them, so they would as likely feed them beer, wine or opium-available in every store as Godfrey's Cordial, Dalby's Carminative or Syrup of Poppies,[183] which would either narcotize them enough to quiet them or would kill them.[184] The use of opium on infants goes back to ancient Egypt, where the Ebers papyrus tells parents: "It acts at once!"[185] Physicians complained of the thousands of infants killed every year by nurses "forever pouring Godfrey's Cordial down their little throats, which is a strong opiate and in the end as fatal as arsenic."[186] At all costs the baby must be quieted; Rheingold describes mothers in treatment who "stop producing milk every time their mothers appear" because they "fear their own vengeful mothers and fear that she may destroy her child."[187]

There is no conscious guilt on the part of mothers who allow their children to starve to death, since they blame the children "for wanting to die."[188] Many mothers and wetnurses didn't

breastfeed at all, but just gave infants pap, "gruel" (*bouillie*), made of water or sour milk mixed with flour,189 which has very little nourishment and was so thick that "soon the whole belly is clogged, convulsions set in, and the little ones die."[190]In Bavaria, for instance, mothers considered nursing their children "disgusting," while the fathers were totally lacking in empathy, telling their wives "those breasts are mine" and threatening to go on a hunger strike if the mothers nursed their baby.[191] All sort of past childrearing practices contributed to the starvation or malnutrition of infants. Newborn babies were usually not fed at all for the first week or more, since the mother's colostrum was believed to be poisonous to the baby. Swaddled babies were hung on a peg or put in a cradle in another room, where their hunger cries could not be heard; in addition, tight swaddling makes infants withdraw into themselves so they refrain from crying when hungry. Infants sent out to wetnurse, after not being fed during the journey, were given to women who often attempted to nurse up to five or more babies at a time as they worked in the fields, while "the child is left to himself, drowning in his own excrement, bound like a criminal…"[192] Particularly malnourished were those babies fed on pap by nurses, sometimes taking on as many as 40 children at a time, most dying, while mothers continued to send them their subsequent babies.[193] These and other starvation practices made malnutrition for most babies a near certainty until modern times.

SENDING TO WETNURSE AS A DELEGATE OF THE DESTRUCTIVE GRANDMOTHER

Most historians have been as little able to feel empathy for infants sent to wetnurses as the mothers themselves were, claiming it "reflected not so much a lack of love for them as a deep fear of loving them,"[194] or that was just "a harmless convention not a rejection of the child."[195] Most mothers who could afford to send their babies out did so; for instance, from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century, less than 5 percent of the babies born in Paris were nursed by their own mothers, rich or poor alike.[196] Six percent of eighteenth-century Parisian parents that wetnursed their babies were noble, 44 percent were master artisans and tradesmen and 24 percent were journeymen or other workers; over a third of the children died during their time at wetnurse, a mortality rate at least double that of maternal nursing, with the mortality rate of foundlings placed at wetnurse being a deadly 92 percent.[197] Parents, of course, knew these enormous infant mortality figures when they condemned their innocent babies to wetnurse.

Mothers knew their own mothers would be jealous if they cared about the newborn rather than devoting themselves to the grandmother, so they rarely inquired about the baby at wetnurse. One unusual mother who actually visited her baby at wetnurse was warned by a relative that "such exaggerated love was a crime against God [her maternal alter], and he [she] would surely punish it."[198] Besides, "many young mothers say…'If I turn nurse, I should destroy my husband's life, and my own too.'"[199] Upper-class mothers almost never nursed their babies, saying, "Nourish an infant! Indeed, Indeed! …I must have my sleep o'nights…And a new gown to wear at the Opera…What! Must the brat have my paps too?"[200] Defoe called suckling babies by ladies of quality "a thing as unnatural as if God had never intended it."[201] Newborn babies were experienced as demon alters-dragon-snakes (*drákoi*)-until they were exorcized at baptism.[202] Even when their babies had in-house nurses to care for them, the mothers wouldn't breastfeed them herself. Breast milk was supposed to have been made from the mother's blood, and mothers imagined that "every time the baby sucks on her breasts, she feeleth the blood come from her heart to nourish it,"[203] making her feel like the baby depleted her of her very life's blood. Doctors beginning with Soranus agreed that mothers who nursed their babies would "grow prematurely

old, having spent herself through the daily suckling."[204] In addition, since it was believed that "sperm would spoil the milk and turn it sour,"[205] for most of history maternal breastfeeding meant no sex for the mother while nursing. Still others rejected breastfeeding because it felt "too sensual,"[206] violating the anti-sexual prohibitions of their family upbringing.

Physicians have complained since antiquity about parents who routinely give their newborn over to negligent and abusive wetnurses. "At birth our children are handed over to some silly little Greek serving girl," says Tacitus;[207] Soranus warns about "some wet-nurses so lacking in sympathy towards the nursling that they not only pay no heed when it cries for a long time, but [are] angry women like maniacs and sometimes when the newborn cries from fear and they are unable to restrain it, they let it drop from their hands or overturn it dangerously."[208] Aulus Gellius says wetnurses are chosen at random from the most useless slaves: "they take the first woman who has milk."[209] Throughout history, parents were quite casual about entrusting their babies for from two to seven years with wetnurses. Agents would "stop the first peasant woman he might come across, without examining her health or her milk [or use] a placement office [who would] get rid of him cheap or hand him over to the first person who comes along…"[210] The child-peddlers who hawked their services in the streets or by newspaper ads were not expected to know anything about the wetnurse, only to take the infant off the mother's hands. Those few parents who tried to find a good wetnurse were usually disappointed; one diarist wrote of his own life: "Four different wet-nurses were alternately turn'd out of doors on my account…The first…nearly suffocated me in bed…The second let me fall from her arms on the stones till my head was almost fractured…The third carried me under an old brick wall which fell [on me]…while the fourth proved to be a thief, and deprived me even of my very baby clothes."[211]

The trip to wetnurse began the infant's traumatic life experiences. "The infants were bundled upright in groups of four or five in pannier baskets strapped to the backs of donkeys. Those who died on the journey were just thrown out en route."[212] Once there, their parents "seldom inquired about the survival of their infants and were often uninformed as to their whereabouts."[213] Mothers sent each newborn to wetnurse "despite the killing off, one by one, of their children…Neither poverty nor ignorance explains such infanticide-only indifference…Mothers on learning of their child's death at the nurse's console themselves, without wondering about the cause, by saying, 'Ah well, another angel in heaven!'"[214]

The wetnurse herself was usually an infanticidal mother. The common practice was to require that she get rid of her own baby in order to nurse the stranger-termed "a life for a life" by parents in the past.[215] Montaigne laments "Every day we snatch children from the arms of their mothers and put our own in their charge for a very small payment."[216] Society thought this system fair, since "by the sacrifice of the infant of the poor woman, the offspring of the wealthy will be preserved."[217] It is not surprising, then, that wetnurses were universally described as "vicious, slothful and inclined to drunkenness,"[218] "debauched, indolent, superstitious,"[219] guilty of "gross negligence…leaving babies…unattended when helping with the harvest…crawling or falling into the fire and being attacked by animals, especially pigs,"[220] "hung from a nail like a bundle of old clothes…the unfortunate one remains thus crucified [with] a purple face and violently compressed chest."[221] The wetnurses' superstitions included a belief "in favor of cradle cap and of human wastes, which were thought to have therapeutic value,"[222] so infants were rarely washed and lived in their own feces and urine for their entire time at nurse: "Infants sat in animal and

human filth, were suspended on a hook in unchanged swaddling bands or were slung from the rafters in an improvised hammock…their mouths crammed with rotting rags."[223] Even live-in wetnurses were described as unfeeling:

When he cried she used to shake him-when she washed him she used to stuff the sponge in his little mouth-push her finger (beast!) in his little throat-say she hated the child, wished he were dead-used to let him lie on the floor screaming while she sat quietly by and said screams did not annoy her…[224]

Complaints by physicians that wetnurses let infants die of simple neglect were legion: "While the women attend to the vineyards, the infant remains alone…swaddled to a board and suspended from a hook on the wall…crying and hungry in putrid diapers. Often the child cries so hard it ends up with a hernia…turkeys peck out the eyes of a child…or they fall into a fire, or drown in pails left carelessly on doorsteps."[225] Children were described as being "kept ragged and bare, sickly and starved…in terror of their nurse, who handed out blows and vituperation freely" or who "tied them up by the shoulders and wrists with ragged ends of sheets…face down on the floor…to protect them from injuring themselves while she was away…Never played with or cuddled…it is a holiday when they are taken for a walk around the room by the nurses…"[226] Infants who are sent to "killing nurses" are described as being fed while the nurse croons, "Cry no more! Soon you will go, deté drago, soon…'Tis truly better that you go, dear infant…onto the lap of Virgin Mary, Mother of Jesus."[227] The destructive Mother of Jesus, who gave birth for him to be sacrificed, was never far away from the child. It is no wonder that well into the nineteenth century many areas had a two-thirds mortality rate of infants sent to wetnurse.[228]

Since their parents seldom visited them, the children were total strangers when they were returned to them years later. "If they returned home alive, they often came back in a pitiable state: thin, tiny, deformed, consumed by fevers, prone to convulsions."[229] The mother has by then nearly forgotten her baby, since, as physicians complained since antiquity, "When a child is given to another and removed from its mother's sight, the strength of maternal ardor is gradually and little by little extinguished and it is almost as completely forgotten as if it had been lost by death."[230]One typical report came from a woman who described her mother saying when she was returned at two from wetnurse, "My God! What have you brought me here! This goggle-eyed, splatter-faced, gabbart-mouthed wretch is not my child! Take her away!"[231] Another is praised by Locke for beating her child when she first saw her, saying she was "forced to whip her little *Daughter*, at her first coming home from Nurse, eight times successively the same Morning, before she could master her *Stubbornness* and obtain a compliance in a very easie and indifferent matter."[232] The return home to mother from wetnurse was often like going from the frying pan into the fire.

Wetnursing was practiced by societies all over the world, from Europe to Asia, as far back as records exist.[233] The Code of Hammurabi even allowed the wetnurse to sell the baby if the parents couldn't pay her the contracted amount.[234] The first improvement did not come until the seventeenth century, when wetnurses began more often to be brought into the parents' homes, especially in England, Holland and America.[235] The next step was for the mother to nurse herself. The decision was made purely for psychogenic reasons; no new invention nor social condition

caused the change. Nor was it due to a change in the opinions of experts-the pro-nursing tracts of Rousseau and others had little affect on the near-universal wetnursing practice in France, for instance, while in America, even in the South where slave nurses were available, mothers usually nursed themselves by the eighteenth century.[236] Advanced mothers began by telling each other they would find new delights in nursing their own infants, for, "in recompence whereof, he endeavors to show her a thousand delights…he kisseth her, strokes her hair, nose and ears, he flatters her…"[237] Rather than a draining of vital blood, nursing could actually be a pleasure to the mother! The new middle class took the lead in maternal nursing, while-even in England-the upper classes gave their infants to wetnurses well into the nineteenth century; Victoria was the first English monarch who was not put out to wetnurse.[238] All of these changes took place before the advent of sterilized bottle feeding in the twentieth century. Infant mortality in these areas immediately plunged,[239] and mothers began to work out how to face the new emotional challenges of relating to their babies.

SWADDLING THE EVIL INFANT

Since "infant humans are inclined in their hearts to adultery, fornication, impure desires, lewdness…anger, strife, gluttony, hatred and more,"[240]they had to be tightly tied up so they "be not crooked nor evil shapen"[241] and will not "tear its ears off, scratch its eyes out, break its legs, or touch its genitals, "[242] would undoubtedly "fall to pieces,"[243] and would certainly "go upon all four, as most other animals do."[244] Worse, infants are always on the verge of turning into your own angry mother; there is so much "viciousness in all children [if you] pamper them the least little bit, at once they will rule their parents."[245] Infants are so violent that even their heads must be "firmly tied down, that they might not throw off their heads from their shoulders."[246] Physicians complained "mothers and nurses bind and tie their children so hard [they] made me weep {as they] lie the children behind the hot oven, whereby the child may soon be stiffled or choked…"[247] The swaddling process was much the same for millennia:

[The mother] stretches the baby out on a board or straw mattress and dresses it in a little gown or a coarse, crumpled diaper, on top of which she begins to apply the swaddling bands. She pins the infant's arms against its chest, then passes the band under the armpits, which presses the arms firmly into place. Around and around she winds the band down to the buttocks, tighter and tighter…clear down to the feet, and…covers the baby's head with a bonnet [all of which] is fastened with pins.[248]

8:3 Mother swaddling a baby

Physicians complain that the infant "is lucky if he is not squeezed so hard that he is unable to breathe, and if he has been placed on his side, so that the water which he has to pass through his mouth can run out," or he will choke to death.[249] Swaddled Albanian infants were described as follows in a 1934 study:

The child began immediately to passionately scream and tried to free himself…This seemed to be a signal for the mother to rock the cradle violently; at the same time she covered the head of the baby with a white sheet. While the baby's miserable screaming made a strong impression to us, it seemed to be an everyday thing to the mother, to which she did not react except by rocking the cradle as strongly as possible…[250]

The traditional "benumbing shaking" of the baby and "violent rocking" of the cradle-described over and over again by our sources251-"puts the babe into a dazed condition in order that he may not trouble those that have the care of him,"[252] is sometimes supplemented by "a piece of linen rag stuffed into its mouth"[253] to stop the screaming. Because straight pins were used to keep the swaddling bands in place,[254] "nurses, blinded by passion and prejudice, do not hesitate to beat the helpless babe, without examining whether its cries are not occasioned by a pin…"[255] Because every visitor to the home represents the jealous grandmother, infants are usually kept in dark rooms and their faces are covered by blankets to ward off the "world full of angry, malevolent, burning, glaring looks, a world dominated by evil and fear…usually represented by an older woman…Sharp objects are placed into the cradle or stuck between the swaddling bands-knives, needles, forks, nails-to protect against incubi…"[256] Salt was rubbed into the baby's skin, irritating it terribly,[257] excrement was sometimes smeared on its nipples, infants were made to drink their own urine and neighbors would often spit on it, saying: "Ugh, aren't you just ugly," all to ward off jealous "evil eye" spirits.[258] Since the infants were nursed while swaddled, they stewed in their own excrement for days at a time, the mothers leaving their babies "crying with all their might" in the cradle or

8:4 Baby hanging on nail on wall

"tossed in a corner" or "hung from a nail on the wall" while they "spend hours away from their cottages" during the day.[259] Few traditional mothers or nurses heeded doctors' pleas "not to let them lie in their filth,"[260] so that during their first year of life[261] they were usually "covered with excrement, reeking of a pestilential stench [their] skin completely inflamed [and] covered with filthy ulcerations [so that] if touched…they let out piercing cries."[262]

Swaddling was a world-wide practice, undoubtedly reaching back to tribal cultures, since so many of them have featured tying up to cradleboards for as long as three years as their way of controlling the infant's supposedly aggressive tendencies.[263] Asian parents favored techniques like wrapping it in a blanket and tying it into a basket made of straw or bamboo (ejiko) until it is three or four years old.[264] Eighteenth-century Anglo-Saxon physicians began to suggest doing away with swaddling entirely, at least during the day, stressing what mothers had been unable so far to notice, "that particular happiness, which a child shows by all its powers of expression, when it is newly undressed. How pleased! How delightful! it is with this new liberty."[265] Soon more and more mothers discovered "the extreme pleasure that all children discover when stript of their incumbrances, the content and satisfaction with which they stretch themselves, enjoying the freedom of voluntary motion,"[266] and by the nineteenth century swaddling was "unheard of" in France, England and America, though continuing in Germany into the twentieth century and in various parts of Eastern Europe even today.[267]

The effects of swaddling upon every human born during the past ten millennia were catastrophic. Besides having "the pressure force blood to their heads and make their little faces purple," besides "crushing his breast and ribs" and "compressing the flesh almost to gangrene, the circulation nearly arrested,"[268] swaddled infants were severely withdrawn, listless and physically retarded in the onset of walking, which often didn't begin until from two to five years of age (see my table of historical ages of first walking).[269] The effects of swaddling on all adults' emotional lives is even more profound. Because of the lack of warmth and holding, there is a lifelong

deficit in oxytocin and oversupply of cortisol, the stress hormone, resulting in a lifetime of rage and anxiety states.[270] Even rats lose neurons in the hippocampus and orbital frontal lobes when tied up like human infants were, producing depletions in serotonin, norepinephrine and dopamine, exacerbated aggressive behavior and a severe decrease in social capabilities.[271] In the next chapter we will discuss the enormous transformation produced in Western science, politics and culture by the ending of wetnursing and swaddling and the evolution of parental love during the modern period.

THE HISTORY OF CHILD BEATING

Despite belief to the contrary, mothers beat their children today "at a rate approaching twice that of fathers,"[272] and mothers in the past were even more likely to be the child beaters than today. The typical mother of the hundreds I have collected from memoirs in the past was described as endlessly beating her children:

She was a curious woman, my mother. Children seemed to inspire her with a vindictive animosity, with a fury for beating and banging them, against walls, against, chairs, upon the ground…[273]

My mother…strictly followed Solomon's advice, in never sparing the rod; insomuch that I have frequently been whipped for looking blue on a frosty morning; and, whether I deserved it or not, I was sure of correction every day of my life.[274]

Mama whipped us for the least thing…sometimes the chastisement could better be called a flogging…we kept the marks for many many days.[275]

I was often whipped. My mother said that one mustn't spoil children, and she whipped me every morning; if she didn't have time in the morning, she would do so at noon, rarely later than four o'clock.[276]

8:5 Mother beating her child

If the mother could not spare the time to beat her child, or if she complained "I have a little pain in my back with whipping Susan today, who struggled so that I have got a wrench,"[277] she could always hire a "professional flagellant" who advertised their child-beating services in newspaper

ads[278] or, like one mother, she could hire a "garde-de-ville to whip her three children once a week, naughty or not."[279] After all, until just recently, all experts advised that mothers should "let the child from a year old be taught to fear the rod, and cry softy…make him do as he is bid, if you whip him ten times running to do it."[280] Since "God has given every mother the power [and] placed in your hands a helpless babe…if it disobeys you, all you have to do is to…inflict bodily pain so steadily and so invariably that disobedience and suffering shall be indissolubly connected in the mind of the child."[281] And since your child needs you so much, "he does not bear a grudge against those who have hurt him…However much his mother whips him, he looks for her and values her above all others."[282] "After thou hast beat him…then he hath forgotten all that was done to him before and will come to thee…running…to please thee and to kiss thee."[283]

Children throughout history began being beaten in the womb. Pregnant mothers in the past were usually beaten by their husbands, a practice they had a legal right to do until the twentieth century,[284] and even today over a third of pregnant women are in physically abusive relationships-physical assault escalating during pregnancy.[285] "Unborn children, trapped in their mother's wombs, are victims…from the father's blows to the abdomen."[286] After birth, a half or more-depending upon the area-of mothers today begin hitting their infants during their first year of life;[287] in the past, nearly all were beaten in their cribs. Susanna Wesleys children were typical:

[I would] break their wills…before they can speak…[Before they] turned a year old they were taught to fear the rod and to cry softly…that most odious noise of the crying of children was rarely heard in the house, but the family usually lived in as much quietness as if there had not been a child among them.[288]

Usually the mother managed to effect what she felt was total control of the infant early on:

I have begun to govern Sally. She has been Whip'd [and] when she has done any thing that she suspects is wrong, will look with concern to see what Mama says, and if I only knit my brow she will cry till I smile, and although She is not quite Ten months old, yet…tis time she should be taught.[289]

Even when the infant doesn't stop crying and begin to obey the mother's merest glance, the early beatings had to begin in earnest, as with this mother and her four-month-old infant:

I whipped him till he was actually black and blue, and until I could not whip him any more, and he never gave up one single inch.[290]

Even if the crying is because the child is sick, the rod must be applied, since the mother still hears the child's cries as critical of her:

Our little daughter…before she was quite a year old, we began to correct her for crying…It has taught her a command over her feelings…even when she is unwell, and blurts into a loud cry, we generally correct her until she suppresses it…[using] a rod…[291]

Children, says Locke, must always show total "submission and ready obedience…it must be early, or else it will cost pains and blows to recover it."[292] An Irish mother puts it more succinctly:

"You've got to slash them while they're still to young to remember it and hold it against you."[293] Yet in fact the floggings continued throughout the lives of children prior to the socializing mode, so that diaries are filled with entries of "the dog-whip over the door," "the razor-strap hanging on a nail on the kitchen shelf," and "the carpet-beater in the corner. Mother didn't have to use it. If we were being naughty, we just followed her eyes to the corner…"[294]

The beating process was ritualized, to relieve the parents' guilt and to enhance its sexualization. Children often would be forced to "ask for God's blessing on the flogging," "the wife then bares the child's bottom with delight for the flogging," "the child must ask to be beaten…(Batty rhapsodizes on God's wisdom in providing children with bottoms so they can be beaten repeatedly without permanent damage)." [295] After the beatings, the child would often be made to kiss or thank the beating instrument or the beater for the beating, as when Roger North recalled "being made to stop crying and thank 'the good rail which [mother] said was to break our spirits.'"[296] Parents usually are described as being out of control, "fearce and eager upon the child, striking, flinging, kicking it, as the usual manner is."[297] Even mothers who wrote about being nice to their children, like Anne Bradstreet, stressed the need to flog until "the plough of correction makes long furrows on their back."[298] Professional floggers hired by parents used more openly sexually sadistic equipment:

Preparations consist in having ready a strong narrow table, straps (waist-band with sliding straps, anklets and wristlets), cushions, and a good, long, pliable birch rod, telling her to prepare by removing her dress…For screams increased strokes must be given. If a girl tries very hard indeed to bear it bravely, then, perhaps, I give ten instead of twelve.[299]

Children of wealthy parents were, if anything, more severely beaten than others, by both their caretakers and parents. Louis XIII was routinely "beaten mercilessly…On waking in the morning…he was beaten on the buttocks by his nurse with a birch or a switch…his father whipped him himself when in a rage…"[300] On the day of his coronation at eight, after being whipped, he said he "would rather do without so much obeisance and honor if they wouldn't have me whipped."[301] Noble parents demanded nurses whip their children; Henri IV wrote: "I have a complaint to make: you do not send word that you have whipped my son…when I was his age I was often whipped. That is why I want you to whip him…"[302] The beatings were usually bloody:

Katharine by a blow on th'ear given by her mother did bleed at the nose very much…coming home an hour, she bled again, very sore, by gushes and pulses, very fresh good blood, whereupon I perceived it to be the blood of the artery…[303]

Laws did not protect children against cruelty until the modern period unless they were beaten to death; as one thirteenth-century law put it, "If one beats a child until it bleeds, then it will remember, but if one beats it to death, the law applies."[304] Since children were beaten with the same instruments as criminals and slaves, floggings could be accomplished with whips, shovels, canes, iron rods, cat-o'-nine tails, bundles of sticks, shovels, whatever came to hand.[305] Parents could avoid killing them, said Bartholomew Batty, if they would not "strike and buffet their children about the face and head, and lace upon them like malt sacks with cudgels, staves, fork or fire shovel…[but instead] hit him upon the sides with the rod, he shall not die thereof."[306]

When children went to school, the beatings continued with increased ferocity. Beatings were considered the basis for learning, since, as one educator said, "fear is good for putting the child in the mood to hear and to understand. A child cannot quickly forget what he has learned in fear."[307]Augustine recalled the regular beatings he received at school and described the use of "racks and hooks and other torments."[308] Children were beaten for every error, such as "being flogged for not marking the ablative case,"[309] and since sexual sadism was rampant among teachers throughout the centuries the floggings were often described as being administered to children "stripped in front of the whole community and beaten until they bled"[310] and beatings were often described as being made by teachers "with a gloating glance of sensual cruelty."[311] Schoolmasters were often described as taking "the most pretty and amorous boys…into his lodgings and after a jerke or two [a blow with a rod or a whip] to meddle with their privities…"[312] Many books and articles have been written detailing the "erotic flagellation" of British schools,[313] but the erotic content of school beatings was well-known everywhere since early times.[314] Children wondered why "We are taught during our first five or six years to hide our buttocks and shameful parts; then…along comes a teacher who forces us to unbutton our trousers, push them down, life our shirt, show everything and receive the whip in the middle of the class."[315] Girls were equally flogged. Hannah Lynch's beatings in the nineteenth century were typical: "The superioress took my head tightly under her arm, and the brawny red-cheeked lay-sister scourged my back with a three-pointed whip till the blood gushed from the long strips and I fainted."[316]

No child in antiquity and the middle ages can be found who escaped severe physical abuse-at home, at school , in apprenticeship, all suffered from "battered child syndrome," from infancy until adolescence. The Old Testament not only demands beating children, it says children who curse their mother or father "shall surely be put to death" and of stubborn sons, "All the men of the city shall stone him to death with stones."[317] Spartan boys were flogged in public contest to see who could endure the longest, and ritually whipped at altars which became filled with their blood.[318] Chinese parents punished children by "a hundred blows with a bamboo…strangulation [or] having his flesh torn from his body with red-hot pincers."[319] Education was similarly full of floggings. St. Ambrose praised tutors for being "unsparing with the whip,"[320] Augustine "lived in dread of the whip of his teacher," and Martial "jokes about the complaints of neighbours living next to a schoolroom: the sounds of students being beaten awakens them annoyingly early in the morning."[321] Mothers are depicted as bringing their children to school and demanding they be beaten, and descriptions of beatings by the *ferula*, a cane with knots in it, tell how "children's hands were so swollen by this instrument that they could barely hold their books."[322]

By the middle ages, a few reformers, like Saint Anselm, began questioning whether whipping children "day and night" was wise,[323] and saying that "casting them on the ground [and] kicking them like dogs [is a] manner of correcting I judge to be detested…"[324] Still, little changed for most children, except that by the seventeenth century sometimes if they were whipped to death during apprenticeship the master could be convicted of manslaughter.[325] Small infants were the first to be exempted from whippings; "a babe at six months cries when its mother gives it into the arms of another person…the child ought not to be whipped for this…"[326] By the eighteenth century's socializing mode parenting, I have found the first children in history who could be said not to have been beaten at all[327]-particularly in America, where European visitors agreed "one and all that American children were badly spoiled."[328] Although Pleck's massive study of American

family violence found all eighteenth-century children "were hit with an object…ranging from a belt to a horsewhip,"[329] she found some in the nineteenth century who were not hit at all. Mothers discovered for the first time in history that they could have "a deep, unquenchable love for her offspring,"[330] and would abjure all "whipping, caning, slapping, ear-pulling or hair-dragging,"[331] favoring chastising words or locking up in a room instead. By the early twentieth century, twelve percent of white Americans in one study claimed never to have been spanked.[332] In schools, however, most Americans agreed with the teacher who said that "moral suasion's my belief but lickin's my practice,"[333] and Boston schools in 1850 found that it took "sixty-five beatings a day to operate a school of four hundred."[334] Still, even though twenty-three states approve of

8:6 Child being beaten by teacher

school beatings, and three million children are still paddled in American schools yearly,[335] they are nothing like the infamous British school floggings that continued unabated throughout the twentieth century, where the beatings were too often inflicted by flagellomaniac teachers in public displays of cruelty.[336]

Polls of American parents' spanking practices show about half spanked on the bottom and a quarter hit with some hard object, mothers still beating more than fathers and toddlers being the ones most often beaten, as high as 70 percent.[337] In 1979 Sweden became the first country in the world to ban all corporal punishment of children, so that even though there is no punishment given to parents who hit their children, the disapproval alone plus the training of high school children in alternatives to hitting has reduced the number of children hit to under 30 percent.[338]There are at this writing eight more European nations which have anti-spanking statutes, and even Germany and England are considering them.[339] Most of the nations of Western Europe currently have hitting rates somewhat higher than those of America, while outside of Western Europe most rates are considerably higher.[340]

FREEZING, TOSSING AND TORTURING CHILDREN

The number of daily tortures routinely inflicted upon children in the past seem beyond comprehension. From birth, children had to endure constant freezing practices, including ice-water bathing and baptism:

Children were baptized by being plunged into a large hole which had been made in the ice [on the river} Neva, then covered with five feet of ice…the priest happened to let one of the children slip through his hands. "Give me another," he cried…I saw that the father and mother of the child were in an ecstasy of joy…the babe had been carried straight to heaven.[341]

The mother took the naked baby and a pot of hot water into the backyard…poured the water on the snow, melting it and creating a pool which could serve as a washing basin for several days; all she had to do the next day was to break the ice.[342]

Ice-water bathing was a widespread historical practice from antiquity to modern times, "the colder the Bath the better…use every Day,"[343] so that "the shock was dreadful, the poor child's horror of it, every morning, when taken out of bed, still more so."[344] The excuse given was that it was necessary for "hardening" the child, "to toughen their bodies by dipping them into cold water like white-hot iron,"[345] so that when the "little infant [is washed] in cold water…itself in one continuous scream [the] mother covering her ears under the bed-clothes that she may not be distressed by its cries"[346] it can be hardened to life's cruelties. John Locke not only recommended parents wash the feet of their children every day in cold water, but also make them wear "shoes so thin that they might leak and let in water" and clothes and sleeping quarters that allow them to be cold all the time.[347] Most societies used these Spartan hardening practices: Russians complained about traditional hardening such as being put to bed wrapped in wet cold towels,[348] and Colonial New Englanders regularly complained that they were made to sit with wet feet "more than half the time."[349] Alternatively, mothers are so unable to empathize with their children that they often "take no notice what pains they cause and make baths for children so hot" they are badly burned.[350]

Many people over the centuries complained of parents who "customarily" tossed infants, as when the brother of Henri IV, while being passed for amusement from one window to another, was dropped and killed."[351] Children were often put to bed tied up by the hands and made to wear corsets with bone stays, iron bodices and steel collars, forced to sit many hours a day in stocks, strapped to a backboard, supposedly to teach them restraint.[352] Reports of shutting up little children in closets for hours were legion.[353] Painful enemas were given regularly, since "it was thought that children should be purged especially before eating 'for fear that the milk will be mixed with some ordure…"[354] Children were often put to bed and told to think about their death and the misery they will feel in Hell.[355] Children were religiously taken to witness public executions, then "on returning home, whipping them to make them remember the example."[356] Children from antiquity were not only endlessly frightened that they would be eaten up, abducted or cut up by ghosts, Lamia, "the black man who comes for naughty children," "the goblin in the basement," "the tailor with the huge sizzors," "Striga that attack children, defile their bodies and rend the flesh of sucklings with their beaks."[357] To make the terror more real, their caretakers would actually dress up dummies in order to terrorized them, or would paint themselves as the werewolf or bloody monster and "roar and scream at the child [and] make as if it would swallow the infant up."[358] All this terrorizing for no other reason than to act out concretely the destructive mother alter in their own heads.

THE ABANDONMENT OF CHILDREN

Abandonment of children may seem less traumatic than tying up, beating and terrorizing them,

but adult biographies rarely fail to mention the deep hurt they felt as children when they were given away by their parents-as most children in history were, under one excuse or another. Newborn infants who were abandoned on the side of the road, of course, almost always died,[359] but even the one-third to two-thirds of the babies born who were abandoned to foundling homes beginning in the modern period usually died from maltreatment in the institutions.[360] Visitors to these foundling homes regularly described the children there as:

stunted creatures, neither childlike nor human…they sit close-packed against the wall or gathered into knots, dull and stupefied…Never played with or cuddled…it is a holiday when they are taken for a walk around the room…It is a room of filth, filled with ceaseless crying, where their lack of decent covering, their misery and consequent infirmities combine to bring about their death within a few days.[361]

The congestion of the infants in narrow, cold, and humid rooms, with no cleanliness, the lack of linens and the poor choice of wetnurses, shorten the painful agony before death…Often a wetnurse was forced to nurse up to five or six children, and, to ensure that the last of these did not suck on breasts that had been entirely emptied by the first, she tore the babies from her breast, screaming.[362]

Most of the children abandoned in foundling homes were legitimate[363]-more girls than boys[364]-and up to 90 percent of foundlings died either in the hospital or when sent to wetnurse, so it is no wonder that it was proposed that a motto be carved over the gate of one foundling home: "Here children are killed at public expense."[365] It is unlikely that historians are correct in concluding that the babies being sent there "reflected not so much a lack of love for them as a deep fear of loving them[sic]."[366] Meladze describes his experiences in a Communist-run foster home in Moscow recently as follows:

Children were regularly stripped naked and their genitals ridiculed…The foster parents deriving sexual gratification and feelings of power from these weekly rituals….Psychological torture and brainwashing were interspersed with sexual abuse. The aunt, the primary torturer, slept in a double bed with her mother. I slept in between the two. In the evening, before bed, the great aunt would undress in front of me and ask me if I wanted to suck her breasts…The aunt stripped off my pajamas and laughed at my genitals shouting she would castrate me: "We will cut your balls off and make you into a girl."…[367]

Babies not abandoned to foundling homes could be sold by their parents as slaves during most of history; indeed, there are still hundreds of thousands of chattel slaves around the world today, even more in debt bondage.[368] Public auctions of children were common throughout Europe and Asia well into modern times.[369] One American colonist described the sale of children in debt bondage that took place as ships arrived in Philadelphia: "Many parents must sell and trade away their children like so many head of cattle; for if their children take the debt upon themselves, the parents can leave the ship free and unrestrained…"[370]

The one institution to which parents could abandon their children and know they were likely to live was the religious order. Parents knew monasteries and nunneries were abusive-"there is an inscription over the gate of hell: 'Abandon all hope, you who enter'; on the gate of monasteries,

the same should appear"[371]-but they nevertheless paid good money to them to dump their children in them permanently.[372] Most oblates were children of aristocrats, so there is no argument for economic necessity, and gave large gifts to the religious orders to take their children, usually at around five years of age.[373] The child became a *holocaust*, a sacrifice, to God, the destructive grandmother in the parent's unconscious, and the cloister "became a cruel life of hard labor, boring routine, beatings, and fear of sexual sin and assault.[374] In return, the parents could expect "clerical prayer and, ultimately, salvation"[375]-i.e., some peace in their heads from the punitive maternal alter. The children held the legal status of slaves of the monastery, and they were endlessly whipped, naked, regularly starved in severe fasts, only allowed to sleep for five hours a night and used sexually by clerics and older boys.[376] Although most monks were earlier oblates, oblation began to decline in the late twelfth century, as wealthy parents decided they preferred to hire servants to whip, starve, torture and sexually abuse their children in their own home.[377]

SENDING OUT CHILDREN TO FOSTERAGE, APPRENTICESHIP AND SERVICE
Another widespread abandonment practice throughout history was fosterage:

Fosterage was found mainly among royalty and other well-to-do parents [and] was so common that the remark that 'all the children grew up at home' was offered as an unusual occurrence….sons obtained new networks of kin relations, but bonding with the mother was most often precluded, and-most surprising to the modern reader-she did not seem to have desired her son's company.[378]

Children might be sent to fosterage "for affection or for payment" as soon as they returned from wetnurse, usually to other family members, and not returned until adolescence.[379] Since so many families simply traded children with each other, the custom was puzzling unless one realizes that adults emotionally were able to treat foster children more abusively-working them like slaves, beating them, using them sexually-than if they had kept their own children and not traded them to others.[380] Parents who foster their children today usually explain that they "cannot effectively discipline their own offspring" if they keep them themselves.[381] Fostering in archaic civilizations was so common the mother's brother was often called the "upbringer" or "fostering brother," and "among Hittites, Greeks, Romans, Celts and Germans, mother's brothers [would] supervise initiation and…ritually sodomize his ward…"[382] Fosterage was practiced in all complex civilizations in every continent on earth, right into modern times.[383] Parents would simply ask the uncles or grandparents if they "needed a child"[384] and shipped one off to them without tears. If one sent one's child to royalty and it was killed by abuse, one was expected to thank the foster parent and bring another.[385]

There was little difference between fosterage, adoption, apprenticeship and service. All involved virtual slavery without rights for the children. The opinion of the Italian at the end of the fifteenth century that "the want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children…they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the houses of other people…few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others; whilst he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own" is often quoted-but in fact Italians of the time equally fostered and apprenticed their children.[386] Everyone agreed that "It is good to remove children from the sight of their father and mother and give them to friends so that they do not become quarrelsome; also, when they are

in a strange house, they are more timid and do not dare to enjoy themselves and fear being scolded…"[387] Half of all persons who came to the colonies in the American South were indentured children.[388] England continued to send hundreds of thousands of children to Canada and Australia for fosterage well into the twentieth century; a Canadian minister complained about England' practice using Canada as "a dumping ground for the refuse of the highways…waifs, strays, and the children of vicious and criminal tendencies…"[389] The practice continues in many areas of the world for tens of millions of children today.[390]

Apprenticeship and service were the fate of virtually all children, rich or poor alike.[391] A master "may be a tiger in cruelty, he may beat, abuse, strip naked, starve or do what he will to the poor innocent lad, few people take much notice."[392] Mothers also beat the girls apprenticed to them. A typical eighteenth-century

8:7 Mother beating servant

description read: "Elizabeth began to beat and kick them about, and would drag them up and down stairs making use of the most horrible expressions. She always kept a rod soaking in brine, with which she used to beat them on their bare skin when they were undressed to go to bed…She frequently tied the girl up naked and beat her with a hearth broom, a horsewhip or a cane, till the child was absolutely speechless."[393] Rape of these children was widespread-since they felt so lonely and rejected, they more easily allowed themselves to be used sexually in return for the illusion of some feeling. Entries in diaries like "my master came to my bed at 2 o'clock in the morning and violated my person"[394] were common, and relatives who sent children to be servants would assure the new master that she "will match your cock."[395] Masters frequently slept with their servants and raped them, both the boys and the girls.[396]

The work done by even small children sent out to others was often the heaviest and most dangerous needed to be done.[397] Whether it was 12 hours a day of heavy labor in the fields[398] or climbing boys who were constantly "pinned, beaten, cold, pinched and abused,"[399] even small children could not count on simple empathy during their time with others:

Little boys had to go on sweeping chimneys and getting stuck in them or suffocated with soot, or even roasted…Their terror of the dark, and often suffocating, flues had somehow to be overcome

by the pressure of a greater terror below…masters would threaten to beat them [or] would set straw on fire below or thrust pins into their feet…no wonder nursemaids threatened to give naughty children to the sweep, and children shrieked at sight of him.[400]

Even when schools began to be more widespread in the eighteenth century, the children would only go for a few years, then be sent to apprenticeship. One English girl remembered:

On the day that I was eight years of age, I left school, and began to work fourteen hours a day in the fields, with from forty to fifty other children…We were followed all day long by an old man carrying a long whip in his hand which he did not forget to use.[401]

Beyond formal abandonment like fosterage and apprenticeship, mothers throughout history were constantly giving away their children for all kinds of rationalized reasons: "because the mother was expecting another child" (Juhannes Butzbach, "to learn to speak" (Disraeli), "to cure timidness" (Clara Barton), for "health" (Edmund Burke), "as pledge for a debt" (Madame d'Aubigné), or simply because they were not wanted (Richard Baxter, Richard Savage, Augustus Hare, Swift, Yeats, etc.) Hare's mother expresses the casualness of these abandonments: "Yes, certainly, the baby shall be sent as soon as it is weaned; and, if anyone else would like one, would you kindly recollect that we have others."[402] If no one wanted the child, it would most often be assigned to older children or nurses or others to care for (autobiographies regularly recalled "I never saw my father and mother but for an instant in the morning")[403] so that they very often wandered off into the fire or fell down the well.[404] Even in the modern period, when mothers began to show some delight in infants, they soon grew tired of caretaking and sent their children elsewhere. On June 7, 1748, Madame d'Epinay got her 20-month-old son back from wetnurse, and writes in her diary:

My son is back with me…He cries when I leave him. He is already afraid of me, and I am not sorry for it, for I do not want to spoil him. I sometimes think, when he smiles as he looks at me, and shows his delight at seeing me by clapping his little hands, that there is no satisfaction equal to that of making one's fellow-creatures happy.[405]

But she soon finds caretaking depressing, writes about the "apathy and indifference" she feels because her children "are only an occupation, a duty for me, and do not fill my heart at all," and turns them over to the nurse, taking a lover for herself.

MATERNAL INCEST: THE CHILD AS BREAST

In the previous chapter, widespread maternal incest-with the mother using the child as an erotic breast-substitute by masturbating it or sucking on its genitals-was documented for many contemporary preliterate tribes. Although equally clear evidence is hard to come by in history because of the lack of detailed descriptions of early mothering in the past, it is likely the sexual abuse by both mothers and wetnurses continued until modern times.

Primate mothers are widely reported as copulating with their children; indeed, many cannot learn to reproduce unless they have had sex with adults when they were children.406 Many immature primates "copulate with their mothers…explore adult genitalia and experience manipulation of their own."[407] Our closest ancestors, the bonobo chimps-termed "the erotic champions" of

primates-spend much of their time sucking and masturbating the genitals and "genitogenital rubbing" of both male and female juveniles, "to reduce tensions."[408] Primate children are regularly observed being taught to thrust against their mothers' genitals.[409] This "sexualization of the infant" was likely extended when human infants grew much larger heads, since it meant in order to get through the narrow birth canal before the head grew too large human infants had to be "born fetal," extremely immature and increasingly helpless, so that in early humans "maternal attention was not sufficient to care for more helpless infants…"[410] This in turn meant a selection for those babies who could most satisfy the mother's erotic needs-for instance through the extension of non-hairy, erotic skin areas-for they would be best nursed and cared for as an erotic, tension-reducing object. Likewise, those human mothers were selected who had evolved the largest and most erotic breasts[411] and who had genitals shifted around to the front, where they could rub them against their children.[412]

The psychogenic evolution of the central motivation for mothering from incest to empathy took millennia, and is still far more prevalent than is realized. As we detailed in the previous chapter, researchers have described mothers in various tribal areas and countries outside of the West as routinely sucking and masturbating their children, but have concluded that this was not incest since the society didn't believe it was sexual abuse. Since both the perpetrators and the victims of maternal incest also collude-each for their own reasons-in denying its occurrence, current figures for sexual abuse by females-13 percent of girl victims and 24 percent of boys victims-are considered likely to be underestimates.[413] (Some studies actually find girls twice as likely to be abused by women as by men.)[414] This denial is possible because women sexually abuse children at a much younger age than men do, so the incidents are more likely to be repressed by victims of female abuse.[415] Maternal sexual abuse is acknowledged to "remain undetected"[416] and therefore to be badly "underreported…unless coercion was involved…[because] sexual abuse of children by adult females is usually nonviolent and at times quite subtle [involving] intercourse, cunnilingus, analingus, fellatio, genital fondling, digital penetration…and direct exposure to adult sexual activity."[417] Genital contact with the parent is even more prevalent; in America, "more than fifty percent of eight- to ten-year-old daughters touched their mother's…genitals [and] more than forty percent of eight- to ten-year-old sons touched their mother's genitals…"[418] Some clinical studies reveal widespread female masturbation of little children "to counter her feelings of lethargy, depression and deadness," "the only way she could make herself go to sleep," or "painful manipulation of the genitals by mother [with] the wish to destroy the sexuality of the child."[419]

The sexual use of children by mothers has been widely reported by outside observers in both non-literate and literate nations outside the West. Childhood in much of India earlier in the century was said to begin with masturbation by the mother, "high caste or low caste, the girl 'to make her sleep well,' the boy 'to make him manly.'"[420] Like most traditional families, children rotated around the extended family as sleeping partners rather like a comfort blanket, and one sociologist who did interviews modeled on the Kinsey studies reported "there is a lot of incest…It is hidden along with other secrets of families and rarely gets a chance to come out, like seduction at the hands of trusted friends of the family…To arrive at even a passable estimate of incest cases would be to touch the hornet's nest…"[421] Throughout Indian history, says Spencer, "Mothers stimulated the penises of their infants and gave a 'deep massage' to their daughters as a form of affectionate consolation."[422] Arab mothers are said to "rub the penis long and

energetically to increase its size," "In China, Manchu mothers tickle the genitals of their little daughters and suck the penis of a small son," "In Thailand, mothers habitually stroke their son's genitals," etc.[423]

Western observers even today often notice that Japanese mothers masturbate their young children during the day in public and at night in the family bed-in order, they say, "to put them to sleep."[424] The average Japanese mother sleeps with her children until they are ten or fifteen years old, traditionally sleeping "skin-to-skin" (dakine) while embracing her child because the father-as in the traditional gynarchy-is usually absent, over two-thirds of Japanese husbands being involved in extramarital intercourse.[425] Japanese mothers often teach their sons how to masturbate, helping them achieve first ejaculation in much the same manner as with toilet training.[426] A "mental health hotline" in Tokyo recently reported being flooded with calls about incest, 29 percent of them with complaints such as that the mother would offer her body for sex while telling the son, "You cannot study if you cannot have sex. You may use by body," or "I don't want you to get into trouble with a girl. Have sex with me instead."[427] Wagatsuma reports "Japanese mothers often exhibit an obsession with their sons' penises…[they are] usually brought in by their mothers who fear that their sons' penises are abnormally small,"[428] with the result that Japanese marriage clinics find "60 percent of their patients are afflicted with the 'no-touch syndrome,' that is, they will have no physical contact with their wives for fear that it will lead to sex…[termed] the "I love mommy' complex."[429] Adams and Hill and Rosenman have thoroughly documented the castration anxieties resulting from Japanese maternal incest.[430]

Maternal incest in history is, of course, almost impossible to document except for indirect evidence. Doctors told mothers and nurses to "gently stretch the end of the foreskin every day" and to "massage the scrotum" as well as to infibulate the foreskin later.[431] Rabbinic sources deemed "a woman 'rubbing' with her minor son" common enough to have a law concerning it.[432] Myths and drama endlessly depicted maternal incest,[433]and dream-books like Artemidorus' mostly interpreted dreams of maternal incest as indicating good luck.[434] Sophocles has Oedipus claim that "in dreams…many a man has lain with his own mother,"[435] a fact mainly true of actual victims of maternal incest. Incest in antiquity was not illegal,[436] nor was it spoken of as a miasma, an impurity,[437] and early civilizations from Egypt and Iran to Peru and Hawaii had brother-sister incestuous marriages where the parents played out their incestuous needs by forcing their children to marry each other-a third or more of marriages being incestuous in the case of Roman Egypt.[438]

Still, direct evidence of widespread maternal sexual use of children in history can hardly be expected if even today it is everywhere denied. True, doctors from Soranus to Fallopius counsel mothers "to take every pain in infancy to enlarge the penis of boys (by massage and the application of stimulants)…"[439] But usually the only reference to maternal incest is in the penitentials, where the Canons of Theodore mention that "a mother simulating sexual intercourse with her small son is to abstain from meat for three years…,"[440] or, as in Dominici and Gerson, the *child* is told not to allow the mother to touch him.[441] One could also cite various cleric's warnings about maternal incest, the many illustrations of mothers and grandmothers being shown with their hands on or

8:8 Christ's genitals are stroked by his grandmother

near their children's genitals, or one could detail the nearly endless accounts in autobiographies and other direct reports of the sexual use of children by nurses and other female servants who masturbated and had intercourse with their charges "to keep them quiet," "for fun" or "to put them to sleep."[442] Alternatively, one could document various other routine practices of mothers that indicated they used their children erotically, such as the habit of grandmothers and mothers to "lick it with 'the basting tongue'" all day long, sucking their lips, faces and breasts as though the child was itself a breast,[443] or one could describe the incestuous behavior

8:9 Mothers with their children in bathhouse

in the public baths (many of them doubling as brothels) in which mothers and children co-bathed.[444] But just how widespread these incestuous maternal practices were escapes our research tools.

There is, however, one indirect measure of maternal incestuous practice that could indicate that mothers until well into the middle ages were acting out their erotic need to violate their daughter's genitals. Mothers in China and India have been observed to "clean the sexual organs of the little children during daily washings…so scrupulously" that the girls have no trace of a hymen…Even Chinese doctors do not know anything about the existence of the hymen."[445] Some Arab mothers also "practice 'deep cleansing' on their very young daughters, purposely tearing the girls' hymen."[446] A survey of physicians from antiquity to early modern times reveals that none of them were able to discover a hymen on any of the little girls they examined.[447] Obviously the mothers and wetnurses of little girls during this period were routinely rupturing the hymen during some assault on their vaginas. Even Paré in the sixteenth century found when he dissected innumerable little girls as young as three yours old, "I was never able to perceive it."[448] Occasionally a doctor like Soranus would find a hymen with his probe, but considered it an aberration.[449] If one wanted to determine if a girl was a virgin in Greece, one resorted to magical virginity tests, like sending her to a cave where a poisonous snake lived, and "if they were bitten, it was a sign that they were no longer chaste."[450] By the fifteenth century, the existence of the hymen and the act of deflowering by breaking it was finally recognized,[451] indicating that the practice of assaulting girls' genitals had become less than universal.[452]

By the sixteenth century, giant communal family beds, "with people packed like sardines between the blankets,"[453] including "grandparents, parents, children, servants and visitors,"[454] began to diminish, so that over the next three centuries more and more people asked each other nostalgically, "Do you not remember those big beds in which everyone slept together without difficulty?…in those days men did not become aroused at the sight of naked women [but now] each one has his own separate bed…"[455] The change was completely psychogenic, as it occurred in rich and poor families alike. Those who couldn't afford separate beds simply turned the children around so their heads were opposite to their parents, and nightclothes were used rather than "skin-to-skin" sleeping of previous times, so that even "working-class children seldom saw a naked body because most of their parents slept with their clothes on and changed clothing in a corner when others were not looking."[456] By 1908, incest was finally made a criminal offence; it is today a minor felony in most nations.[457]

THE UBIQUITY OF CHILD SEXUAL MOLESTATION

The best studies of incidence of sexual molestation of children are those of American adults conducted by Wyatt and Russell,[458] both based upon face-to-face interviews lasting from one to eight hours, so that time is allowed for the trust necessary for accurate recall. Russell found 38 percent and Wyatt 45 percent of women interviewed reported memories of sexual abuse during their childhood. In my article "The Universality of Incest," I corrected these figures to reflect the major biases in their studies-their population does not include groups who have far higher than average sexual molestation experiences, such as criminals, prostitutes, the mentally ill, etc.; they neither count those who refused to be interviewed; and they did not count either those who might have suppressed conscious memories nor did they allow for the possibility of unconscious memories, which most early molestation produces. Adjusting for these factors, I posited a 60 percent rate of sexual abuse for girls. Using Landis' figures on men, I posited a 45 percent rate of sexual abuse for boys.[459] The average age of the child molested was only 7 years old,[460] the average duration of abuse was 5 years,[461] and boys were more often molested by females while girls were more often molested by males.[462] The only comparable studies from interviews were a Canadian

Gallup study, a York University study and two British surveys, all four of which conclude with incidence rates the same or higher than the U.S. studies.[463] Non-statistical studies of sexual molestation in other countries indicate the likelihood of rates being even higher.[464]

With over half of the children even today being subjected to sexual abuse-about half occurring between family members and most of the remainder occurring with the complicity if not outright collusion of one of the parents-children in the past were likely to have been routinely used as sexual objects by the adults around them. Although intimate historical records of past sexual abuse within the family are obviously selective, a few unusual glimpses of the widespread frequency of this molestation can be recovered. For instance, when Beatrice Webb and others reported in the nineteenth century that they had found that the sexual abuse of young girls by their fathers and brothers was so common in the families they visited that the girls often joked about their babies being products of incest,[465] or when anthropologists report incest between fathers and daughters was quite common in rural villages from Greece to Japan,[466] one can reject the reports as being perhaps unrepresentative of whole nations. But when Karen Taylor studied 381 cases of "Venereal Disease in Nineteenth-Century Children" and found that doctors in nineteenth-century Europe and America routinely treated children with venereal disease, mainly on their genitals, anuses and mouths, she finds she agreed with almost all of them that "There is no doubt on my mind that the father of this family was the source whence all the other received infections."[467] Since the diseases cannot spread except by intimate contact with open wounds, when doctors found fathers with ulcerations of the penis in the same families with children who had ulcerations on the genitals, anus or mouth, incest had to be the cause. Reports from European hospitals showed similar patterns of venereal disease from incest in children.[468]

A second method that can reveal the extent of sexual abuse of children is to study measurable physical results of the abuse and determine their overall patterns in past centuries. One of these physical results of sexual and other severe childhood abuse is that girls who are abused reach puberty a few years ahead of others because of substantial increases in the stress hormone cortisol, in testosterone and in adrenal hormones, all of which accelerate their age of menarche.[469] The age of menarche was approximately12 in antiquity, rose to around 17 in the early modern period, then dropped steadily in the past 200 years down to the present 13 years of age in modern nations.[470] The cause of the overall drop recently has been demonstrated as due to the improvement in the overall population of more protein and calories during children's growth years.[471] But since mainly wealthy children made up the measured population of menarche from antiquity to modern times-and these wealthy children did not eat less protein and calories than the entire population of children around 1700-only a slowly diminishing rate of sexual abuse of girls can account for the rise from 12 to 17 during the earlier two millennia. Only if most girls in antiquity and the middle ages were sexually molested could they have such an early average age of menarche and age of first children.

Boys do not have such an easily identifiable mark of puberty as girls, nor do they accelerate their sexual development as girls do when abused. In fact, boys *delay* their onset of puberty as a result of sexual and physical abuse, as John Money's work on the Kaspar Hauser Syndrome revealed, again connected with a deficiency of thyroid and growth hormones from the pituitary.[472] Was boys' sexual development delayed in early history? It turns out it was. The growth of first beard in antiquity and the middle ages, first appeared in the boys' twenties, compared to appearing

around 14 years of age today.[473] The historical pattern was that beards began their reduction in the West from the 20s down to 14 around 200 years ago, which, as we will see in the next two sections, was when most of the reduction in frequency of sexual abuse took place.

A third method of revealing the routine nature of sexual abuse of children is examine one child's life that is adequately recorded and see how everyone around him casually uses him sexually. The best-documented life of a child in past times was that of Louis XIII (born 1601), through the daily diary of Jean Héroard, his physician.[474] The assault on little Louis's erotic zones began at birth, with daily enemas and suppositories. These had nothing to do with toilet training or cleanliness-he was left filthy, and was nearly seven years old before he had his first bath. As doctors regularly recommended for all infants,[475] frequent enemas or even fingers routinely put deep into the anus were for the purpose of removing the evil inside contents of the child, contents projected into them by the adults around them as a poison container. As David Hunt described the process: "The bowels of children were thought to harbor matter which spoke to the adult world insolently, threateningly, with malice and insubordination…the excrement which was regularly washed out of him was regarded as the insulting message of an inner demon, indicating the 'bad humors' which lurked within."[476] Thus infants must be purged of their badness before each nursing so the "good" milk wouldn't get mixed up with the "bad" feces.

Fondling, sucking and kissing little Louis's penis and nipples were common practices by everyone around him-his parents, his nurses, his servants-beginning in his infancy and continuing throughout his childhood. This was done openly, without guilt, and sexual play with others became Louis's main topic of conversation, recorded in detail by Héroard. When he was an infant, all the women around him could hardly refrain from putting their hands up under his clothes, and one year old, still unable to walk, the entire court lined up to "kiss his cock."[477] At the same time, he was made to feel guilty for his own assault, being told, "Monsieur, never let anybody touch your nipples or your cock or they will cut it off." His parents often undressed him in the middle of the day and took him to bed with them and "gambled about freely" while they had intercourse.[478]After his father stretches out his penis as says, "Behold what made you what you are," Louis reports that "papa's penis is much longer than his, that it is this long, indicating half the length of his arm." "The Queen, touching his cock, tells him: 'Son, I am holding your spout.'… "He was undressed and [his sister] too and they were placed naked in bed with the King, where they kissed and twittered and gave great amusement to the King. The King asked him: 'Son, where is the Infanta's bundle?' He showed it to him, saying: 'There is no bone in it, Papa.' Then, as it was slightly distended, he added: 'There is now, there is sometimes.'"[479] By the time he was four, he was also routinely taken to bed by his ladies-in-waiting and nurses and encouraged to explore their genitals and play sexual games like whipping their buttocks, later commenting publicly, "'Mercier has a cunt as big as that,' showing his two fists, and saying that 'there's a lot of water inside….the cunt of Saint-Georges is big as this box [and] the cunt of Dubois is big as my belly."[480] His nurse, Mercier, usually slept with him and used him sexually. When asked "What have you seen of Mercier?" he answered, "I've seen her hole." "Is it pretty then?" "No, its pretty fat." "How do you know that?" "He answers that he has pissed on her."

The constant sexual use of little children in the past cannot be written off as harmless, as Ariès does when he writes, "All that was involved was a game whose scabrous nature we should beware of exaggerating."[481] Nor was it limited to poor, illiterate peasants or workers. It was

universal-indeed, it is still the rule for most of the children on earth-and it was done solely for psychological reasons. The final two sections of this chapter will examine more deeply the rape first of girls and then of boys throughout history.

THE RAPE OF GIRLS IN HISTORY

The attitude of most adults until the twentieth century toward raping girls is summed up in the comments of a British journalist in 1924 who wrote: "Cases of incest are terribly common in all classes. [Usually] the criminal goes unpunished…Two men coming out from [a rape] trial were overheard saying to a woman who deplored there had been no conviction, 'What nonsense! Men should not be punished for a thing like that. It doesn't harm the child."[482] The conviction that girls always "forget" about being raped after they grow up reaches back to Maimonides, who assures us that the rape of a girl under three was no cause for alarm for, once past three, "she will recover her virginity and be like other virgins."[483] Guilt about rape was simply missing in the past because men recognized only two sexual categories: rapists and raped, dominators or dominated. Socarides' pedophile patient tells him why he rapes little girls:

"Women are filthy. They have menstruation, blood…Kids are cleaner…I have sex with kids so I won't die. It keeps me young, keeps me youthful. Having sex with women means that you are grown up already. Kids don't have sex with women, only grownups have sex with women. If I don't grow up, I don't die."[484]

Child rapists are so afraid of individuating that "grownup sex" with women means leaving their neglectful/destructive mothers, which means death to them. Raping a child means having possession of a "good breast devoid of frightening configurations" and overcoming an overpowering sense of emptiness, abandonment and death. Rapists in history over and over again tell how "rejuvenating" raping children can be. Epictetus gives this advice to those who want to help others overcome their fear of death: "What if you offer him a little girl? And if it is in darkness?"[485]The traditional world was full of children-slaves, servants, sisters, street urchins, child prostitutes-all available to stave off death and loneliness and to revenge oneself upon the unloving mother.

Empathy for raped girls was missing in traditional societies. Even when the rapist was punished-and this was rare-it was only because "rape or seduction without paternal consent undermined the father's sovereign authority over his daughter.[486] "A girl was quite unprotected if she did not live under the actual supervision of her father. Moreover, this protection did not extend to lower class girls, and if the guilty person was of high rank he was never prosecuted.[487] Moreover, it was the general practice to brutally punish the girl if she was raped, so few ever told anyone about it.488 Vives says, "I know that many fathers have cut the throats of their daughters [if raped]…Hippomenes, a great man of Athens, when he knew his daughter debauched, shut her up in a stable with a wild horse, kept meatless, [who] tore the young woman [apart] to feed himself…"[489]Girls in the past-as in many Arab countries still today-would often be killed if they had been raped.[490] Even today in rural Greek communities, anthropologists report that "incest may sometimes be practiced, with the father, or both the fathers and the brothers, exploiting the growing girl….If the girl should become pregnant…her brothers or her father will kill her [in] an 'honor' killing."[491] Or, in antiquity, "the father could exercise his power by putting the raped girl

up for sale."[492] Or the father would "give his daughter to the ravisher in marriage,"[493] a custom still practiced in many areas of the world today.[494]

Men began raping girls when they were extremely young. Even today, the average age of rape is 7 years, with 81 percent of sexual abuse occurring before puberty and 42 percent under age 7.495 Well into the modern period many people thought raping little girls was a good idea because it was "instructive" for them; a woman physician wrote in 1878:

Infants but two and three years of age are often raped, by men of all ages, not only for present gratification, but to familiarize girls of immature ages with carnal matters and to excite, so that seduction may be easy in the future….We cannot too strongly impress upon the fathers of daughters their duty in seeing that their little girls are instructed in regard to the certainty of protecting themselves against rapes, by grabbing the testicles.496

Not all fathers in the past were protective of their daughters' virginity. Although only three percent of women report incest with fathers in America today,[497] Gorden found far more widespread incest in nineteenth-century American families, with biological fathers accounting for nearly half of the cases that reached Boston courts[498] and Lowndes reported that the only reason British courts were not swamped by paternal incest cases was that they simply didn't believe the victims and that the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children was precluded from touching incest cases.[499] "Cases were hushed up, the rapist bribed parents not to report them, and wives might refuse to believe that the husbands were capable of such monstrosity, and even turn on their own daughters if they tried to complain."[500] Records of mothers colluding with the fathers' rape were legion, as in the colonial American family where the mother "forced her daughter to go to bed with her stepfather, and, as the girl told the court, 'my mother held me by the hand whilst my father did abuse me and had his will of me.'"[501] Many if not most "delinquent" girls in the past were simply victims of incest:

A Chicago study of delinquent girls in 1917 included many anecdotal cases of [sexual] abuse by relatives or neighbors, including "one girl raped by her own father when she was ten years of age, one by an uncle, two by boarders." In such accounts, phrases like "incest with a father" and "raped by a lodger" recur in a bleak litany. Jane Addams noted in 1913 that "a surprising number of little girls have first become involved in wrongdoing through the men of their own households,' often as a result of assaults that occurred before the victims were eight years old.[502]

Many societies prefer incestuous marriages-n China, for instance, some families would avoid marriages to strangers by adopting girls when infants and raising them with their sons so they can marry their sisters.[503] In many poor countries, "girls were regularly allowed to die off-through giving them less food and by other neglect-if they did not appeal sexually to the men around them. Even though this meant very high sexual abuse rates for young girls and severe sexual problems for them as women, the girls' flirtatious traits were adaptive…"[504] Again, the entire gynarchy often colluded in the rapes. One of Madam Du Barry's main duties was "to search the land for the most beautiful girls who could be bought or kidnapped [as] 'baby-mistresses'" for Louis XV: "And with each of them, it was his custom before violating them to have them kneel with him in prayer at the edge of the bed which was to be the place of their defloration."[505] Even

Queen Elizabeth was made to play sexual games in bed with her foster-father in the home where she was sent as a teenager[506]-which could be the reason why she never married.

The fact that most girls were routinely badly beaten in the past made rapes more easy to cover up. A typical case was reported by a Boston physician:

A relative began masturbating her when she was about 8. He threatened to tell her father about some childish error if she wouldn't let him do as he pleased and she was afraid of her father….She has cut herself 28 or 30 times…Cuts herself slowly to bring out the pain…Mother whipped her with horsewhip…A Dr. in Lynn told her she should have connections [sexual intercourse] that it would cure her desire to cut herself…Stuck pen-knife in her vagina…Dr. Briggs [a previous physician she'd consulted] got a 'hard-on.[Took her hand and put it on his penis…Then he masturbated her breasts and genitals over an hour…[her uncle] often used to hurt her horribly when he masturbated her.[507]

If the father had no daughter, he could use his son's child bride:

Fathers marry their sons to some blooming girl in the village at a very early age, and then send the young men either to Moscow or St. Petersburg to seek employment…when the son returns to his cottage, he finds himself nominal father of several children, the off-spring of his own parent…This is done all over Russia.[508]

It is not surprising that Duby reports of medieval families that they were "a hotbed of sexual adventure…penitentials forbid a man to know his wife's sister or daughter, his brother's wife…maidservants, female relatives, women still 'vacant,' or not yet disposed of [were] an open invitation to male licentiousness. In this small enclosed Paradise every man was an Adam: the young, the not so young, and first and foremost the head of the family, all were constantly exposed to temptation."[509] Grandfathers in particular had to be warned by early psychoanalysts not to insert their fingers into their granddaughters' vaginas.[510] The traditional family of the past was similar to families in less advanced areas today: for instance, a recent report of Middle Eastern women found four out of five recalled having been forced into fellatio between the ages of 3 and 6 by older brothers and other relatives.[511] The molestation begins with masturbation or fellatio and proceeds to intercourse: "In most cases the girl surrenders and is afraid to complain since, if there is any punishment to be meted out, it will always end up by being inflicted on her."[512] Sometimes, as in contemporary rural Greek villages, the young girl might invite the seduction in order to act out a fantasy of conquest of the abusive male. As one anthropologist reports:

To be raped or be the victim of an incestuous attack may have the appearance of a villainous assault upon innocence. [But while they usually] are angry at their seducers and exploiters, they can be very pleased by conquest [and] are not above seducing priests, fathers, and brothers as well as the husbands of their neighbours.[513]

Sexual slavery-whether of actual slaves or of foster children, servants or apprentices-was very widespread in the past. Even today there are over 100 million sexual slaves around the world, most of them starting their sexual services as children.[514] Nor is the sale always forced by poverty:

"A recent survey in Thailand found that of the families who sold their daughters, two-thirds could afford not to do so but instead preferred to buy color televisions and video equipment."[515] Rape of girl servants in the past was nearly universal:

Masters seemed to believe that they had a right to their servants' or apprentices' sexual favours, a right they would claim by force if servants did not acquiesce…In 1772, when Sarah Bishop, aged sixteen, claimed to her mistress that her master had raped her, she told her "he always served all his servants so the night they came into the house." …Rape seems to have been almost a ritual assertion of the master's authority…he believed that he had committed no crime.[516]

The majority of girls raped were done so with some sort of collusion of their parents. Mothers commonly rented out rooms to borders and forced their daughters to sleep with them.[517] Throughout medieval Europe "daughters were loaned to guests as an act of hospitality."[518] In Victorian London, "children went out onto the streets 'with the connivance of the mother,' returned home at night, and made their contribution to 'the profit of the household.'"[519] Children as young as six were openly offered for sale and sexual use by public advertisements in most cities of Europe.[520]One British chaplain declared that trying to stop child prostitution was like 'taking a spoon to empty the Mersey;"[521] it was estimated in Victorian London one house in sixty was a brothel (6,000 in all) and one female in sixteen a prostitute.[522] Virtually all prostitutes began either after rape in homes as children or because they were sold by their parents into prostitution.[523] In antiquity, either "sacred" prostitution-with as many as six thousand prostitutes available in many temples-or profane prostitution or sex slavery was the lot of the majority of little girls born.[524] Fathers sold and rented out their daughters for sexual use without the least guilt.[525] If Genesis is to be believed, Lot handed over his two daughters for sexual use without even a payment.[526] Chinese chiefs would provide harem girls to guests to rape, and one of them, Shihu, chief of the Huns, even had one of his harem girls cooked and served to his guests as a delicacy.[527] Greek plays portray the sexual use of slave-girls as routine.[528]Greek wives were often not allowed to do farming chores lest they be raped.[529] John Chrysostome tells parents to frighten their children not to go out into the streets because they "ran the risk of sexual attack by pedophiles offering sweets and nuts."[530] Christianity changed little in the use of young girls for raping. Convents were open brothels where "monks and confessors alike treated nuns and young novitiates as wives, but their victims' mouths were sealed by the 'dread of excommunication threatened by their spiritual fathers."[531] In many cities, "nunneries were often little more than whorehouses [providing] fornication between nuns and their gentlemen callers."[532] The clergy-in the past as in the present-was often reported as preferring little children to rape: "At Pope Alexander VI's celebration of Catholic Spain's victory over the Moors, children were passed amongst the clergy in a veritable 'sexual bacchanalia.'"[533]

Girls who went into the streets alone sometimes carried knives for protection against rape.[534] Since rape was thought to be "a mere trifle (*paulum quiddam*)," rapists until very recently were rarely prosecuted and even more rarely found guilty (since there had to be others who witnessed the rape),[535] and even if found guilty, most were let off with a mild fine.[536] One of the most-used excuses for raping girls was the widespread belief that rape of a virgin cures one of venereal disease; if you said this was your reason for rape, you were usually let go.[537] The belief was the typical "poison container" theory, that sexual intercourse with the pure was an antidote

to the impure. Even the bubonic plague was thought to be cured by raping pure girls.[538] Many brothels in the past and in the present specialized in providing "virgins" to men suffering from venereal disease for supposed "treatment" for the disease.[539]

Perhaps the most popular way to rape girls in the past was in the "raping gangs" that existed in nearly every country from antiquity to modern times. Roving gangs of "youths"-which practiced homosexual submission to the older among them[540]-practiced nightly collective raping attacks on unprotected women, "forcing the doors of a woman's house and, without concealing their identity and mixing brutality with blandishments, threats and insults, would rape their prey on the spot [and] drag the victim through the streets, eventually pulling her into a house whose keepers were accessories to the plot, where they would do as they pleased, all night long."[541] Gang rapes made up to 80 percent of all sexual assaults in many areas,[542] and violent gang rape "constituted a veritable rite of initiation" for youth in the past.[543] Neighbors did not intervene; indeed, the rapes were considered "public performances" and the gang rapes were considered just normal, youthful "sporting" activities by their fathers and other city officials.[544] Over half of the youth of the cities participated in the gang rapes, and over the years a large minority of the young girls of the city would end up being raped, giving credence to the conclusion that gang rape was a rite of initiation for youth in traditional societies, a preparation for the violence of knightly society.[545]

Finally, even when the girl got married, the marriage was usually at a very young age and to a man who was chosen by the parents, so in fact it would be considered child rape today. Girls were usually married off in antiquity between 12 and 14, to men in their 30s;[546] "it was not uncommon," says Blümner, "since Greek girls married very early, for them to play with their dolls up to the time of their marriage, and just before their wedding to take these to some temple…and there dedicate them as a pious offering."[547] Christian canon law ostensibly forbade child marriage, but the legal age for girls was twelve, and for most of medieval times "It was not at all uncommon for a girl to be a bride at ten [since] one of tender years [could] be married to a septuagenarian while 'church laws did not rescind the nuptials.'"[548] Marriage thus was simply the final rape for most girls throughout history until modern times.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF HISTORICAL PEDERASTY

Pederasts past and present use boys for sexual purposes to make up for the traumas of their own childhood, "the male child representing his ideal self, whose youthfulness protects him from annihilation (death anxiety)."[549] The boy is the smooth, maternal breast, the penis is the nipple, and raping the boy is an act of revenge toward the mother, showing that the pederast is in total control, dominating the boy to overcome his sense of emptiness and abandonment. As one pederast put it, "I want to hold him in my arms, control him, dominate him, make him do my bidding, that I'm all-powerful."[550] The pederast's sexual targets are so interchangeable that he often seduces hundreds of boys in his lifetime. The sexual use of boys is not to be thought of as "a lack of impulse controls" or even as "only a different object choice" as most historians claim; pederasts are driven not by their sexual instincts but by their overwhelming anxieties.

8:10 Greek pederast with boy

Domination rather than tender love was in fact the central aim of all sexuality until modern times. Raping boys was by far the preferred sexual activity of men; it was considered more "according to nature" than heterosexuality, "an ordinance enacted by divine laws."[551] Pythagoras, when asked when one should have sex with women rather than boys, replied: "When you want to lose what strength you have."[552] As one historian of sexuality put it, "The world was divided into the screwers-all male-and the screwed-both male and female."[553] Because the boy represented the ideal self with whom the rapist merged, he must be without hair: "I like the smooth surface of the young boy's body, I don't like hair on it, I can't stand it…"[554] So as soon as boys reached puberty, they were felt to be useless for sexual purposes, and all pederastic poetry mentions the first hairs terminate the boy's attractiveness. According to graffiti and poetry, the boy is most often raped anally.[555] Lucilius compares sexual relations with boys and women: "She bloodies you, but he on the other hand beshits you."[556] While the vagina is "castigated in invective as smelly, dirty, wet, loose, noisy, hairy, and so on…no such feeling seems to have been applied to the anuses of pueri."[557] Boys' anuses were called "rosebud, sometimes compared to the sweetest of fruits, the fig, other times again equated with gold."[558] The only precaution taken was to depilitate boys' anuses, says Martial and Suetonius.[559] Indeed, as Martial put it, men must only penetrate the anus of boys, warning a man who was stimulating a boy's penis: "Nature has divided the male into two parts: one was made for girls, the other for men. Use your part."[560] Boys were far preferred over women; Propertius vowed, "May my enemies all fall in love with women and my friends with boys."[561] It was important that the boy not experience pleasure, only "pain and tears…of pleasure he has none at all."[562] The painful assault on the boy's anus also restaged the painful routine insertion by mothers and nurses of fingers, enemas and suppositories into the rectums of children. In particular, "initiatory" pederasty was always anal, involving a fantasy of "the intrinsic spiritual value of sperm" that-as we have seen in the previous chapter-was needed to ejaculate into the boy's anus in order to "make him a man."[563] Parents taught boys in antiquity to "Put up with it: not as a pleasure, but as a duty."[564] Physicians were regularly expected to provide ointments and other lubricants for anal penetration of boys and they were asked to repair the rectal tears and other injuries that were the usual results of the rapes.[565]

Pederasty was widespread in preliterate tribes around the world, from the "customary pederasty" of Australians and the sexual use of *berdaches*in North and Central American tribes-where boys

were dressed as girls beginning in infancy for raping-to the "boy-wives" of Africa.[566] All early civilizations practiced boy rape and even had boys serve as temple prostitutes, including the ancient Hebrews, Sumerians, Persians, Mesopotamians, Celts, Egyptians, Etruscans, Carthaginians, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Aztecs, Mayans, etc.[567] The rape was expected to be violent; men were expected to take along with them when going out in the streets "scissors, to make a hole in the trousers of the boy [and] a small pillow to put in the boy's mouth if he should scream…"[568] Tutors and teachers often raped their pupils along with beating them; as Quintilian warned, "I blush to mention the shameful abuse which scoundrels sometimes make of their right to administer corporal punishment. Fathers in Greece chose the penetrator of his boy, often obtaining gifts or favors in return.[569] Aristophanes shows one father in *Birds* complaining to another, "Well, this is a fine state of affairs…You meet my son just as he comes out of the gymnasium, all fresh from the bath, and you don't kiss him, you don't say a word to him, you don't hug him, you don't feel his balls! And yet you're supposed to be a friend of ours!"[570] Pedagogues were hired to guard boys against rape by unapproved men, but the pedagogue might assault the boy himself.[571] Boys. in Greece were blamed if their failed to find a pederast for themselves; every boy was expected to have one.[572] Greek and Roman soldiers brought boys along with them on campaigns to use sexually.[573] Slave boys were often furnished to guests for sexual use.[574] Doctors prescribed sex with boys as therapy.[575] Boy brothels and rent-a-boy services were widespread, and pederasts chosen by the father could even sell his rights to rape a particular boy to another man.[576] With the number of boys prostitutes worldwide still in the millions,[577] it is not surprising that every city in antiquity had its boy-brothels; in Rome, boys could be picked up at the barbershop or at the exit of any of the games.[578] All men, even when married, were expected to have sex with boys. "Almost all of the great democratic leaders of Archaic Athens were…pederastic."[579] Wives found it hard to compete with their husbands' boys. Juvenal says wives were "always hot with quarrels…bitching away…about his boy-friends,"[580] and Martial describes a wife yelling, "Bumming a boy again! Don't I have a rump as well?"[581]

A few early Christians began to object to using boys sexually. John Chrysostom complained about fathers taking their boys to banquets where they were made to perform fellatio on men "under the blankets," recommending that boys be placed in the care of monks at the age of ten to avoid seduction.[582] But most medieval authors gave the pro-pederast advice of antiquity, with medical books recommending sex with boys as "less harmful [than] sexual union with women [which] leads more quickly to old age…"[583] The reason men in medieval times waited until their 30s to get married was because they routinely used young boys for sex until then; in Florence, for instance, only a quarter of the men in the fifteenth century were married by the age of 32.[584] Since over a third of most households had servants or apprentices, sexual relations between masters and male servants were even more common and even acceptable than between masters and female servants.[585] Tutors and teachers in schools were expected to use their students sexually, and those who protested that it was a "vice so inveterate [and] so strong a custom" that it was "hardly likely to be discouraged" were thought odd.[586]

But placing boys as oblates into monasteries only made them available for rape by monks, who could not keep their hands off them. One abbott wrote about an infant boy brought to the monastery by his father:

…the man turned the child over to me altogether, and I received the baby with pleasure and joy and a clean heart. [But] when the boy got older and had reached the age of about ten…I was tortured and overwhelmed by an obscene desire, and the beast of impure lust and a desire for pleasure burned in my soul…I wanted to have sex with the boy…[587]

Sex with boys was the central obsession of monks beginning with the early anchorites who went to the desert; Macarius saw so many monks having sex with boys in the desert that he strongly advised monks not to take them in.588 But the need was too strong, and even rules such as those requiring boys to have escorts when going to the lavatory did not prevent monks from routinely using their oblates sexually.[589] So many monks raped their novices that there was a common saying, "With wine and boys around, the monks have no need of the Devil to tempt them."[590] Priests also commonly used confessions to solicit sex with boys, but early Christian penitentials assessed penances only for the boys, since they were blamed for their own rape. Peter Damian said in the eleventh century that sex with boys in monasteries "rages like a bloodthirsty beast in the midst of the sheepfold of Christ with bold freedom" and suggested both the man and boy be punished as accomplices for a "sin against nature."[591]

So acceptable was pederasty in medieval times that parents continued handing over their boys for sexual use to friends and others from whom they expected favors.[592] Bernardino of Siena condemned parents as "pimps" of their own sons, saying the fathers, pederasts themselves, were the ones most responsible, taking money or gifts from their sons' rapists.[593] Boys were so likely to be raped in the streets-"a boy can't even pass nearby without having a sodomite on his tail"-that Bernardino urged mothers, "Send your girls out instead, who aren't in any danger at all if you let them out among such people…this is less evil."[594] Mothers, too, colluded in the seduction of their sons. "When a boy started to mature sexually…his mother gave him a bedroom to himself on the ground floor, 'with a separate entrance and every convenience, so that he can do whatever he pleases and bring home whomever he likes.'"[595]

When beginning in the fifteenth century some more violent pederasty disputes began being handled by courts, the huge number of cases prosecuted revealed that every place boys were gathered-from schools and monasteries to taverns and pastry shops-were "schools of sodomy" where pederasts gathered to violate boys.[596] In Florence, according to the thorough analysis of court records by Michael Rocke, "in the later fifteenth century, the majority of local males at least once during their lifetimes were officially incriminated for engaging in homosexual relations" with boys.[597] Since many pederasts were never incriminated in court, since courts were reluctant to try any but the most violent cases of boy rape, and since pederasts past and present usually rape dozens of boys each, these early court statistics reveal as nothing else the universality of pederasty in history. If the majority of men were hauled into court for cases in connection with their pederasty, the number of boys actually being raped must have been nearly everyone.

As more parents evolved into the intrusive and socializing modes of modern times, they were more and more reluctant to hand over their boys for use by pederasts. Tutors began being monitored to see that they were not pederasts, and reformers began to warn that servants too often "take liberties with a child which they would not risk with a young man."[598] Some suggested that public female brothels should be encouraged as "the best chance of keeping men away from

boys."[599] The rape of boys in British public schools, "with the full knowledge and collusion, even the approval, of their elders,"[600] nevertheless continued into the twentieth century, where every older boy and even teachers had a younger boy as their "bitch" to use sexually.[601] Only slowly in recent decades has it become acceptable to defend children against sexual attack, and only in the most psychogenically advanced nations has the rate of sexual abuse of children dropped to only half of the children born.

Obviously, despite the achievement of empathic childrearing among some parents today, most of humankind still has a long way to evolve to get beyond severe abuse and give their children the love and respect they deserve. The ubiquity of severe child abuse and neglect in historical sources makes even the most horrific descriptions found in contemporary clinical and child advocacy reports seem limited in comparison. It is no wonder that historians have chosen to hide, deny and whitewash the record here uncovered, in order to avoid confronting the parental holocaust that has been the central cause of violence and misery throughout history.

Chapter 9: The Evolution of the Psyche and Society

"The search for meaning is the search for expression of one's self."
James F. Masterson

Since the further back in history one goes the lower the level of childrearing, it follows that children in the past grew up in houses of horrors that were like those of dissociated personalities of today. Psychiatric studies have shown that there is a direct correlation between elevated levels of dissociative symptoms—separate alters, depersonalization, derealization—and the amount of early physical, sexual and emotional abuse.[1] That the average person before the modern period walked streets full of spirits, demons, gods and other alters is evidence of the dissociation that resulted from their routine abuse and neglect as children. Historical evolution of the psyche, therefore, is the slow, uneven process of integrating fragmented selves into the unified self that is the goal of modern upbringing.[2]

Biological evolution stores traits in genes that are passed down to subsequent generations with their modifications intact; a chimp has all the genes necessary to make another chimp. But the self of the human psyche must evolve anew each generation. Contemporary newborns begin with the same psyche as prehistoric newborns; it is only better childrearing that allows them to achieve a more unified self. That dissociated selves were an everyday part of life in antiquity and the Middle Ages is a much-denied fact of historians, just as anthropologists deny that their subjects are dissociated personalities who live in an animistic world full of alters inhabiting animals, objects and dead ancestors. Thus both personal history and human history are products of a search for a real self, a search for meaning in life, an integration of separate brain networks, a development of more adaptive real selves, with the unified self being a late historical achievement of only a few.

HISTORY AS THE INTEGRATION OF THE SELF

Most people even today have only achieved a partial integration of the "relatively independent subselves" that recent studies show they begin constructing as infants.[3] The most thorough recent study of dissociation using a sophisticated interview technique finds that "14 percent of the general public experience 'substantial' dissociative symptoms"[4] and most of the rest of us experience lesser dissociative symptoms when triggered by situations similar to the original abuse. This may seem excessive, until one remembers that perhaps half of the adults today were sexually abused as children, that most of us were physically and emotionally abused to some extent and that helping mode parenting which respects the growth and individuation of children is everywhere still rare. We may be surprised to discover that people in the past had their demon alters exorcised or had conversations with their various inner souls, but even today religious spirit possessions are not uncommon—a third of Americans say they have experienced other spirits in themselves and over 90 percent of us believe in and at times converse with (pray to) god alters of one sort or another.[5] Even in our day-to-day personal reactions, we more often

switch into alters than we like to admit: "'Mom, don't we have any cornflakes?' Shawn asked….Immediately the Mean alter sprang into action. '*Screw you, Shawn! Why are you so helpless? Find something else if we don't have any goddamn cornflakes. I'm not your fucking slave!*'"[6]

Contemporary societies with overall lower level childrearing regularly switch into their alters in possession states. Bourguignon found 90 percent of 488 societies reported institutionalized altered states of consciousness and spirit possessions[7], with the remaining 10 percent reporting other forms of overt dissociation. One of the best-studied is Bali, where people live in "a world filled with gods and spirits…at the core of many activities of daily life, including ceremonies, rituals, dances, plays, and possession [by] demons, witchcraft or black magic, and leak (spirits). Evil spirits are often present."[8] The journal *Transcultural Psychiatry* regularly reports on possession and other dissociative states in other cultures, from the "belief in spirit possession fundamental to Chinese religious systems" to the possession rituals in Indonesia.[9] Simpler cultures report more hallucinations, soul journeys and possessions by animal spirits, while the more complex cultures report a greater variety of possession trance roles.[10] Like multiple personalities in our society, altered states in other societies follow periodic cycles,[11] as people experience growth panic due to individuation, then, as memories of early traumas threaten to surface, they switch into alters and restage their anger, guilt and punishment in religious rituals. Even today people in most societies individuate for six days and spend the seventh worshiping a punishing spirit and asking for forgiveness for the *hubris/chutzbah* of the previous week.

The psychology of alter formation and the acting-out of alter rituals has been well studied recently by clinicians. Whether experienced as inside or outside oneself, alters are actually inner voices or hallucinations that are subnetworks of the brain, centering more in the amygdalan network than the hippocampal,[12] with their own organized personalities and even unique brain-scan configurations as the person switches personalities.[13]All spirits, gods, demons, shamans, priests and political leaders are *alter containers*, projections of these inner alters; they derive their traits from the early traumas, not merely from "cultural transmission of beliefs." Dissociative personalities usually sense at some level that their spirits derive from their parents. As Donne put it, a separate part of ourselves—what he terms an "invisible corner" of us—derives from our past (Father Adam and Mother Eve) and contains the "poison that corrupts us."[14] People in the past used to switch into their alters regularly, hearing voices, having waking nightmares and flashbacks, experiencing loss of time, periods of unreality and deadness, hallucinating persecutors, feeling unalterably dirty, sinful and hopeless, and acting out self-injurious episodes. All of these are evidence of dissociative identity disorders that resulted from the routine abusive childrearing practices of the past. One can view daily encounters with alters in such studies as those of the anthropologists Richard and Eva Blum on rural Greek communities, where people today—as in ancient Greece—regularly switch into alternate states and either are possessed by or encounter outside themselves devouring demons and bloodthirsty maternal monsters as they go about their daily business.[15]

INFANTILE SOURCES OF ALTERS IN HISTORY

Alters always contain traces of the early abusive situation, so if one knows the typical kinds of traumatic childrearing practices of an age, one can use these to decode the shared alters of that age. Goodwin's studies of demon possesions in the sixteenth century are particularly revealing,

demonstrating how the demons of Jeanne Fery were both "internalized abusers" and "keepers of the secret" of her early sexual and physical abuse.[16] Whether the dissociated personalities are Perpetrator or Victim Alters, the original family situation is usually decipherable. Demons particularly get into you, say religious authorities, when mothers are mad at you for enjoying yourself: "Say a child is taking a nice hot shower, he is relaxed, enjoying himself. Suppose his mother yells at him to hurry up and get out, that's forbidden….The child can get scared and the demon will get hold of him."[17] In Mesopotamia, each person was said to have a "personal god…the image of the parent—divine father or mother" inside them, with a relationship "of master and slave," and these contributed to making their worlds filled with "demons, evil gods and evil spirits."[18]The gods of every land were recognized as acting just like parents, often punishing people *like noisy children*, as when Enlil sent the Babylonian flood to wipe out mankind because they were "making too much noise down there so she could not sleep"[19] or as when the Aztec lords of the underworld sacrificed the Aztec ball players because they were "too noisy."[20] Hell in Christian literature was often compared to living with "an angry and furious woman."[21] Possession began early in life; in the *Acts of Thomas*, God himself advised Christians "to avoid having children [since] the majority of children [are] possessed by demons."[22] Witches were often transparently grandmothers or other women of the gynarchy (riding the grandmother's broomstick) or prone to murder children (like real mothers killing their newborn) or "dance stark naked in the night" and seduce children (like mothers who slept with their children while both were naked and while the mother masturbated them).[23] Every witch, ghost and religious figure carried their family origin in each of their features.

God, says Julian of Eclanum, is "the persecutor of newborn children; he it is who sends tiny babies to eternal flames."[24] The pictures of Hell regularly depict tormented souls as child-sized, and their tortures are the routine tortures infants endured in the past; being in Hell meant "unbearable thirst, the punishment of hunger, of stench, of horror, of fear, of want, of darkness, the cruelty of tortures, punishment without end…"[25] The tight swaddling bands were represented in Hell as "cruel fetters" with "their arms stretched down to the feet," and the feces that the infants were left in was shown in Hell as "being in a sewer" and as being "covered in the feces of their own obscenity," with Hell having "a stench worse than anything in this world."[26]

One can find Terrifying Mommy alters behind every Devil; even the Greek word for devil, *diabolos*, means "accuser." God, says Gregory, is the "Avenger," and he compares God's treatment of man with that of a mother who "beats her child one moment as if she never loved him and the next moment loves him as if she had never beaten him."[27] Although gods are often male, this usually only represents a defensive clinging to a Father to avoid worse fears of maternal abandonment and torture.[28] A cross-cultural study of *The Parental Figures and the Representation of God*found that religious people cling to their mothers far more and actually see God with more maternal attributes than paternal.[29] Demons in the past were even portrayed as wetnurses; the Dragon of Delphi, for instance, was the wetnurse of Typhaon, Hera's child.[30] The victims of gods and demons alike are regularly depicted as "innocent," "like an innocent child." When Job complains to Yahweh, "I am innocent," he admits this makes no difference because Yahweh "destroys innocent and guilty alike." Sinners were born sinful and deserved punishment simply because they tried to be independent. The Devil, said Gerson, "sends happy thoughts" to you of "undertaking mighty works," you forget about God's [Mommy's] needs, you "relax," and you become a sinner.[31] You must love God [Mommy], said Meister Eckart, "for nothing." You

live, said Thomas à Kempis, only "to make yourself a more fit vessel for God's [Mommy's] purposes."[32] All religions agreed on one thing: "To assert one's self, to succeed, to enjoy, even to exist, is to dispossess the Father [Mother], to kill Him [Her]."[33]

Switching into alters began in early childhood. Children were often pictured as possessed, and historians of witchcraft often comment on "the sudden emergence, in a docile and amenable child, of a personality which raves, screams, roars with laughter, utters dreadful blasphemies [which] seems like the invasion of an alien being."[34] Children, so close in time to their traumas, could remember what it felt like to be a fetus suffering because their Poisonous Placenta didn't provide it with fresh, oxygenated blood, so they could identify with a suffering Christ on a placental cross and could understand priests when they said they deserved to be thrown into the "suffocations" of Hell [womb] and be tortured by "fire coursing swiftly through their veins, bubbling through their arteries, boiling like liquid lead."[35] Common childrearing practices—like "roasting" infants in an oven to cure them of evil eye—were remembered in the many burning visions of Hell:

Let us always keep before our mind's eye an overheated and glowing stove and inside a naked man supine, who will never be released from such pain. How lost he appears to us! Just imagine how he is writhing in the stove, how he screams, cries, lives, what dread he suffers, what sufferings pierce him, particularly when he realizes his unbearable pain will never end![36]

Demons were sometimes experienced as "creeping things," like children, who "dance, laugh, whistle, caper, fart, and prance." More often demons were like parents, "leaping on his back, beating him and whipping him and leaving him unconscious on the ground."[37] Demons and devils almost always contain traces of childhood rape, the Devil being, as one Colonial American woman who had intercourse with the Devil confessed, "a thing all over hairy, all the face hairy [pubic hair], and a long nose [penis]."[38] As one study of medieval rape puts it: "The main thing medieval demons and monsters do is rape virgins."[39] When hundreds of children at a time report being forced to copulate with the Devil,[40] one need not believe in demons to see the earlier reality of the rape reports. Witnesses to rape confessions often report that the girls speak in "two voices, one her normal voice, the other 'strange, coarse, unnatural, heavy, masculine.'"[41] Obviously the deeper alter voice carries the memory of the original rapist, as it so often does in contemporary rape victims. Demons during the Middle Ages were always assaulting people as incubi and succubi that sexually assault people in their beds, restaging childhood family bed rapes.[42] Some female mystics even hallucinated that Christ appeared before them and had intercourse with them.[43] Even the Holy Ghost contains a trace of rape, since the Virgin Mary was impregnated by God with it (Yahweh in Hebrew deriving from the Sumerian word for "sperm.")[44] Religious ritual often restages the rape scene openly:

The temple in the Near East was the womb. It was divided into three parts; the Porch, representing the lower end of the vagina up to the hymen, or Veil; the Hall, or vagina itself; and the inner sanctum, or Holy of Holies, the uterus. The priest, dressed as a penis, anointed with various saps and resins as representing the divine semen, enters through the doors of the Porch, the "labia" of the womb, past the Veil or "hymen" and so into the Hall.[45]

RELIGIONS AS RITUALS USING SHARED ALTER FETISHES

In religions and politics, people turn to idealized authorities to avoid the risk of depending on themselves and to restage the painful feelings of abandonment by parents that they had when they tried to individuate as children. Religions restage traumatic events encapsulated in dangerous alters. This is why the word "sacred" (sacer) everywhere designates "poison," "dangerous," "taboo,"[46] because the sacred is where we store our most poisonous, dangerous early memories. Gods, demons and spirits are not just containers for haphazard projections; they are *highly organized* and endurable, and so must first exist as durable, organized subselves in individual brains. It is through religious questions about God that people in the past asked their most important questions about Mommy: Why does she hate me, why did she tie me up, leave me abandoned in my feces, let me starve, why did she beat me, why did she strangle my baby sister, what does she want from me, what did I do wrong to deserve such torture?

Because preverbal infants imagine they store their painful memories in various body parts, alters that carry early traumas are often pictured as inhabiting internal organs: hearts, brains, the gall bladder, even intestines. Jeffrey Dahmer used to dismember bodies, he said, because he "wanted to see what someone looked like inside," searching for alters in the organs of the corpses he decapitated, draped on altars and then—like Osiris—tried to reassemble, as though he were reassembling his own dissociated body part alters.[47] He then ate some of the body parts, like Aztecs eating the heart of their sacrificed victims, reinternalizing the projected alters that were "full of vital force." Christian saints hallucinated both Christ and devils inhabiting their hearts, and even talked to them regularly.[48] Egyptians said their double, their *ka*, inhabited their hearts, and had spells entreating the heart to "rise not up as a witness against me."[49] Aztecs believed there were three animistic souls, one in the head, one in the liver and one in the heart, and they cut each of these organs out of victims in their sacrificial rituals.[50] To this day, children's hearts are reported cut out and thrown into the sea in Chile as sacrifices to spirits, as the child begs, "Just let me live, Grandfather."[51]

Tribal people had such primitive childrearing that they were constantly involved with the alters inhabiting their organs. "The first thing a shaman has to do when he has called up his helping spirits is to withdraw the soul from his pupil's eyes, brain and entrails," purifying and liberating them.[52] Shamans "cured" others of "soul loss" by sucking out their poisonous organ alters through their skin.[53] Early religions are mainly concerned with purifying and acting out the feelings of organ alters, usually in rituals that use animal spirit alters, attacking, dismembering and rebirthing initiates. *Animal* alters reveal their infantile origins in that they are projected into beings that crawl and are not verbal, like infants. Thus all animal sacrifices are infantile alter sacrifices, even when we today go hunting. The infantile origin of animal alters is clearly revealed in the Ainu bear sacrifice, where a black bear cub is actually suckled by the mothers before being sacrificed.[54] Shamans around the world hallucinate that they remove all their internal organs and replace them with "incorruptible" organs, often pressing quartz crystals into their body to accomplish this.[55] Egyptians not only separately mummified their internal organs, addressing their ka as "my heart, my mother,"[56] they also mummified animals, reptiles, birds and fishes that were their animal alters.[57] As we saw in Chapter 3, they even mummified the Royal Placenta and worshiped it, like the Baganda did until recently, placing it on an actual throne and addressing it as "King."[58] Christians, too, used to collect body parts as relics, worshiping the heart, pieces of skull, limb bones or fingers of saints dug up from their graves.[59]

Animal Perpetrator Alters were frequently the central gods of early religions, such as when Yahweh was represented with serpent legs or when Egyptian gods were shown as various devouring animals.[60] That gods are usually perpetrators restaging early physical abuse is the answer to Freud's question: "Why does religion seem to need violence?"[61] When violence against children disappears, religious and political violence will disappear. Religions and politics as we know them will no doubt disappear also. Religions work by constructing sacred spaces that contain triggers for switching into trances in order to access people's alters and obtain some relief from their tortures. Looking out a Rose Window of a cathedral triggers nothing so much as fetal memories of seeing light through your mother's abdomen. The entrainment of personal alters into a shared personal experience can be seen today most clearly in groups like the Shakers, where adherents experience dissociation states; get together in churches full of pictures of Christ as a Victim Alter to trigger their childhood memories of being victimized; profess their total obedience to Elders in order to trigger the obedience demanded by their parents; and have a "mother matron" wash their hands or face, also to parallel the early childhood state. Then the church leader, the "Pointer," carries out the Perpetrator Alter role by punishing one of the Shakers: "With a temper that flares suddenly, he takes a wide leather strap and pounds the table, altar, or Bible with the edge of it…then wields it against a woman [who] became dissociated as he held her hands and swung her arms from side to side…remarking, 'Satan, he wait for you!' He proceeded to strike the woman's open palms with his strap." The Pointer becomes the instrument of the Holy Ghost, saying: "It is the Holy Spirit who gives punishment to you," and, while the culprit is still in a possession trance, lashes her as she was lashed as a child, telling her she was now forgiven for being sinful.[62]

The neurobiology of "God experiences" is well understood. They are actually temporal lobe seizures, similar to the seizures of epileptics, explaining why so many mystics experienced clear epileptic seizures. These "kindling" seizures—which have been correlated with previous serious child abuse—begin in the hippocampus and spread to the amygdalan network, transforming previous painful anoxic depressive rage feelings into what Mandell calls "ecstatic joyful rage," with a disappearance of self boundaries so that the person is suddenly overcome with feelings of unity and love.[63] The neurobiology of "God in the brain" is similar to the effects of drugs like cocaine and the hallucinagens, "inducing an acute loss of serotonergic regulation of temporal lobe limbic structures and releasing the affectual and cognitive processes characteristic of religious ecstasy and conversion."[64] Persinger describes "the release of the brain's own opiates that can cause a narcotic high" during these God-merger experiences, producing "with a single burst in the temporal lobe, a personal conviction of truth and a sense of self-selection [that] shames any known therapy."[65] As Otto puts it, the *mysterium tremendum* of religious ecstasy "bursts in sudden eruption up from the depths of the soul with spasms and convulsions and leads to the strangest excitements, to intoxicated frenzy, to transport and to ecstasy…wild and demonic…and can sink to an almost grisly horror and shuddering."[66] Saint Theresa tells how it felt to experience this painful ecstasy in her organ alters: "An angel pierced its spear several times through my heart, so that it penetrated to my bowels, which were extracted when the spear was withdrawn, leaving me all aflame with an immense love for God. The pain was so great that I had to groan, but the sweetness that came with this violent pain was such that I could not wish to be free of it."[67]

Religions devise rituals to exteriorize alters and collude with others in the delusion that internal alters really exist outside oneself, providing some group relief from feeling unlovable by sharing myths like "Christ died for your sins" and asking for forgiveness in hopes that God, the Omnipotent Mommy Alter, will finally love them. Each step of the shaman's or priest's ritual can be decoded to reveal its infantile origin: "In every ritual, we must do what the gods [parents] did in the beginning,"[68] The most severely abused children today who become multiple personalities (Dissociated Identity Disorders) frequently join one of the many fundamentalist religious cults in order to decrease the pains of their dissociation. Religions provide *alter fetishes*—shaman's rattles, Dionysian phallic replicas, suffering Christ statues—that contain the traumas of the alters and allow the worshiper to act out the guilt and punishment they demand. Most gods began as fetishes, "spirits embodied in material objects,"[70] and demon fetish figurines were plentiful in antiquity, being made to be ritually destroyed or thrown into the river or buried in deserted places to punish the Victim Alters that were projected into them.[71] These alter fetishes were believed to have "accumulated power so intense and dangerous" that they had to be "killed" in order to release their force.[72] All the statues and standards worshiped by the Egyptian and Mesopotamians were so concretely alternate personalities that they were regularly fed and spoken to, "in order to sustain the power with which they were charged."[73] Most early Sacred Kings only remained kings as long as they had possession of their fetish alters, the Royal Crown—symbol of the maternal vagina—and the throne—symbol of the maternal chair.[74] As will be discussed below, the fantasy of the omnipotent Terrifying Mommy always lies behind even masculine gods and demons, both in religious and political group-fantasies.

THE SEVEN STAGES OF HISTORICAL PERSONALITY

According to James Masterson, personality disorders are results of "false selves" that defend against painful affects of early life and present-day experiences, designed to camouflage the real targets of emotional life—the infantile feelings and memories—and based not on reality but on organized fantasies involving part-selves. Contemporary personality disorders as described in Masterson's revisions of DSM IV[75] form a series of personality types from schizoid to narcissistic, borderline, depressive and neurotic which conform to the stages of evolution of historical personalities that result from the childrearing modes described in the previous two chapters.

Childrearing	Personality	Ideal	Mother/God	Sacrifice
Tribal: Early infanticidal	Schizoid	Shaman	Devours, seduces, abandons child	To animal alter spirits
Antiquity: Late Infanticidal	Narcissist	Hero	Kills, punishes evil child	To human alter gods
Christian: Abandoning	Masochist	Martyr	Forgives hurt Self-child	Torture
Middle Ages: Ambivalent	Borderline	Vassal	Dominates, beats worshipful child	Subservient clinging
Renaissance: Intrusive	Depressive	Holy Warrior	Disciplines obedient child	Obeying

Modern: Socializing	Neurotic	Patriot	Manipulates child	Incomplete Separation
Post-Modern: Helping	Individuated	Activist	Trusts, loves child	No sacrifice of real self

Illustration 9-1—Table of Historical Personalities

THE SCHIZOID PSYCHOCLASS OF TRIBAL SOCIETIES

The schizoid personality cluster—including paranoid and psychopathic personalities—features magical, primary process thinking; periods of depersonalization, unreality and grandiosity; animistic fused subject/object experiences; an inability to experience intimacy; and extreme episodes of suspicion and rage. Because tribal mothering (see Chapter 6) is so primitive, so lacking in empathy for the child and so engulfing in overt maternal incest, the schizoid tribal personality has a fear of being taken over and a "profound inability to love himself."[76] Schizoids therefore cannot stand close relationships and so cannot form higher levels of social organization based on trust. Tribal personalities since the Palaeolithic formed animal and organ alters containing dissociated Perpetrator and Victim Alters. Animal alters were depicted in the cave paintings of early times and were sacrificially stabbed over and over again in ecstatic rebirth rituals held deep in womb-caves covered with several inches of blood-red ochre. The depersonalization of schizoids—the result of severe separation stress—is so extreme that they regularly felt themselves breaking into fragmented pieces, switching into dissociated states and going into shamanistic trances to try to put themselves together. During shamanistic journeys, schizoids experience themselves as sliced up, their bones removed, their flesh devoured by female monsters, and as repeating the tortures of childhood by being starved, burned, beaten, raped and lacerated.[77] Like schizoid personalities today, much of their lives were spent in fantasy worlds that repeated the childhood isolation that resulted from their feeling that there was simply no path to a real relationship with parents or others. Since alters are formed to contain and control memories of early terrors, when defenses threaten to break down the schizoid is flooded with agony.[78] In tribal groups, there is no hope for forgiveness, there is no "sin," no chance of atonement, only "eat mommy or be eaten by her," only sadistic master-slave fears and detachment-alienation defenses, all restaged in endless rituals and cannibalistic feasts where organ alters are eaten. Bourguignon found spirit possession rituals (where an alter totally takes over the host personality) only in simple hunter-gatherer societies, while possession-trance rituals (where various demon alters appear as spirits during brief ritual trances) were found in agricultural or animal herding societies.[79] Possession rituals today feature a "judgement of the soul by an old woman, the mother-animal, the mistress of the dead," and in the past featured "human victims offered in sacrifice to propitiate the Master of the Animals."[80] The animal masks of the shaman are familiar from the various cave paintings that have survived this early period, with the shaman's drum said to be "the voice of the primeval mother" and with Mistress of the Animal representations continuing as late as the Greek goddess Artemis.[81] Yakut shamans still hallucinate self-sacrifice to "a Bird-of-Prey-Mother, which is like a great bird with an iron beak, hooked claws, and a long tail [who] cuts its body into bits and devours it."[82]

Animistic alter fetishes surrounded early humans. As one Chukchi put it: "All that exists lives. The lamp walks around. The walls of the house have voices of their own, while the deceased get

up and visit the living."[83] Every alter fetish contains traces of the original trauma from when it was formed—even the shaman's rattle betraying the routine raping of children by having a "gourd representing the womb and a penis-handle that inseminates it."[84] Indeed, it is likely that most of the misnamed "Venus figurines" found in early caves were in fact *raping wands* similar to those used in contemporary cults that rape virgins in rituals,[85] with faceless heads shaped like the glans of the penis, bulbous breasts looking just like testicles, a vaginal triangle carefully indicated and covered with red ochre representing the bloody results of the childhood rape.[86] It was no coincidence that the very first art in the Upper Palaeolithic was mainly representations of the vulva.[87] "Sacred rape" is part of shamanistic beliefs today,[88] and virgins are still cut and raped as sacrificial offerings to gods in some areas of the world, giving as the reason: "Only blood satisfies the *tius* [avenging spirits]."[89] Girls in some African tribes are still made to sit on erect penis figurines as punishment.[90] That tunnels and caves were the locations of these raping rituals fits well with the frequent use of tunnels and caves by contemporary cults that rape schoolchildren.[91] That the caves of the Palaeolithic are cultic sanctuaries for trance hallucinations is further confirmed by their being covered with "entoptic" images identical to those experienced by contemporary shamans engaged in trance vision quests.[92]

Plunging into the terrifying, hallucinatory world of "Dreamtime" trances meant revisiting the terrifying world of childhood, where mommies suck infants' penises and fathers have seven-year-olds fellate them. Initiates felt so polluted by their early seductions that they submitted themselves at adolescence to initiatory group-fantasies of disemboweling and washing of their entrails and other body parts, while endlessly cutting themselves to cleanse their blood of their badness. The !Kung bushmen of the Kalahari still switch into cleansing trances once a week to experience their alter memories in convulsion-like tremors, ending in the usual temporal lobe seizures of tribal personalities, "bursting open, like a ripe pod" when "God killed my every thought. He wiped me clean."[93] Body parts containing projected alters collected by early headhunters and cannibals existed with hallucinatory reality: "The Dyaks were obsessed with the notion that severed heads continued to exist as living beings…[they were] treated for months with deep reverence and flattering speech. Choice morsels from the table would be thrust into its mouth, and at the end of the meal a cigar would be placed between its lips."[94] Alters in enemy scalps collected by warriors in many tribes were so real the scalps used to be taken home, called "my child" and fed regularly.[95] Since "enemies" were usually quite innocent of any wrongdoing until a warrior's alters were projected into them, captured enemies were often tortured—to punish the projected childhood alters—and then *eaten*—to return the punished alter to the original owner.[96] Thus what Sagan calls "aggressive cannibalism" and ascribes to "vengeance" is in fact a punishment of a part of the self, projected into another body, and then returned after punishment to one's own body by eating it.

Apparently the cultural explosion at the beginning of the Upper Palaeolithic some 35,000 years ago was the result of early language abilities affording the capacity to project alters into others and into shared cultural alter fetishes.[97] Early humans were schizoid personalities who did not have unified real selves, only dozens of subselves which they projected into other people and objects. One archeologist suggests that the spectacular explosion of cultural developments 35,000 years ago came from "the appearance of a very simple additional cognitive affective mechanism—a disposition to engage in pretend play in childhood,"[98] which in turn depends upon the ability to project parts of one's self into others and into objects. Contemporary tribal children

have alters they play with, far more real to them than the "imaginary playmates" children in more complex societies have. In New Guinea, small children have alternate personalities called *finiik* that "temporarily depart from the body to wander abroad…during trances and other forms of mystical experience."[99] Anthropologists are often startled to be introduced by a little child to his *finiik*, projected into a certain stone or bird, or be told about how witch alters regularly possess children's bodies both in dreams and waking life—all spontaneously experienced, long before being taught in ritual.

Wars, too, are fought to cleanse internal alters of badness, repair the fragmented self and restore potency. Tribal warfare against alter container "enemies" is accomplished mainly through ambush, with warriors spearing unarmed men, women and children for wholly imagined grievances. Tribes switch into Persecutory Alters mainly on occasions of extreme growth panic, when new tasks such as building houses or expanding gardens threaten too much growth and after initiations that center on adolescents growing up. Homicide rates reach the highest levels anywhere in the world—up to 60 percent—in schizoid tribal societies, since extreme distrust of others is common: "Both men and women are volatile, prone to quarreling and quick to take offense at a suspected slight,"[100] restaging the distrust and rage of their infanticidal mothers. Women are routinely viewed as secretly being witches "who can kill simply by staring at a person" and are often killed because they are believed to poison people.[101] Wife-beating is nearly universal, female suicide rates from mistreatment often reaches 10-25 percent of women's deaths, and routine torture and execution of women suspected of poisoning men is common.[102]

Supreme gods in schizoids—unlike the more personal gods of borderlines—are totally unloving and distant, reflecting the uncaring nature of the parents. Eliade points out that even when thought of as "eternal, omniscient and all-powerful," creator gods in tribal cultures "withdraw to the sky," too remote and uncaring to be prayed to or addressed.[103] What takes their place is merging with guardian spirits—empowerment by first torturing yourself to cleanse your alters and then hallucinating an animal alter that might protect you against being devoured by cannibalistic maternal giant alters like the Australian "Old Serpent Woman" or the Kwakiutl giantess Tsonoqua, who roams the forest searching for children to eat.[104] Even when schizoids try to incorporate paternal features to avoid being devoured, they end up giving their gods maternal features—like the Rainbow Serpents of Australia, described as "gods who are male but have a womb or female breasts…who look like snakes but also like a woman…the 'bad Mother'…who swallowed children left in her care."[105]

The main content, however, of tribal rituals is constructed from fetal fantasies, because schizoid disintegration produces deep regression to bad womb and rebirth memories. Psychotherapists like Stan Grof—who regress their patients to fetal states—reproduce their drawings in their books, and these look very much like shamanistic experiences.[108] Possessed shamans often describe switching into trances during their dances in language that closely resembles the birth experience:

The loa dance suggests water [amniotic fluid]…when the drumbeat quickens [mother experiences contractions]…the whole structure crashes like a cosmic surf over one's head [breaking of the amniotic waters]…the terror strikes and with a supreme effort I wrench my leg loose, I must keep moving {trapped in birth canal]…My skull is a drum, my veins will burst my

skin [bloodstream anoxic because placenta no longer delivers oxygenated blood]…I am sucked down and exploded upward at once [birth]…Finally it is as if I lay at the far distant end of an infinitely deep-down, sunken well, then suddenly: surface; suddenly: air; suddenly:dazzling white [born].[107]

Róheim describes the initiation ritual of the Australian aborigines in which initiates were forced to drink blood as "throwing the novice into the Old Woman whose womb is symbolized by a semi-circular trench…The Rainbow Serpent [Poisonous Placenta] is represented engraved on the walls of the trench. A bull-roarer, called the 'Mother' and also representing her womb, her 'shade,' is buried in the trench, his spirit [alter] later leaving it to return to his spirit home."[108] Both initiation rituals and shamanistic journeys usually include going through long birth tunnels with umbilical ropes attaching them to visit placental World Trees, feeling body dismemberments like those fetuses feel during birth, performing bloody birth rituals in medicine wheel circles shaped like placentas and restaging the "poison blood" memories of birth by being covered by "the menstrual blood that can cause you to die, called 'dead womb blood.'"[109] Only after going through poison-blood rebirth restagings could tribal men hope for a time to put their Devouring Mommy alters at rest and go about with the daily work of living.

The result of always being subject to infanticidal, incestuous abandoning maternal memories is that schizoid tribal personalities cannot tolerate separation or rejection in their daily life. "Rejection is unendurable…families cluster together in an encampment 'often touching against their neighbors' [because] separation and loneliness are unendurable to them. [They] cannot bear the sense of rejection that even mild disapproval makes them feel."[110] What is misnamed "egalitarianism" is really mistrust and fear of being called "selfish" for owning. Hoarding and self-aggrandizement are simply not tolerated—people were often killed for trying to keep more than their share of goods—ambition was stopped by overwhelming schizoid envy, change was feared and the surpluses and savings which were necessary for future innovation were nowhere to be found. As Murphy found, in tribal societies "the mother is an eternal threat to self-individuation, a frustrater of urges, and a swallower of emergent identity" of men.[111] The early incest was particularly destructive of separation and individuation. As one Maori sage put it: "That which destroys man is the mana of the vagina." Men are forced to merge with their mothers in order to appropriate the power of their vagina: "Warriors became the symbolic equivalent of menstruating women…[both] bloody warriors and menstruating women…were charged with powerful destructive energy…warriors' bodies and weapons were decorated with designs marked in red hematite [and] they expropriated the destructive power of menstruating women [by] ritual nosebleeding or subincision."[112] Often the bond between men was obtained by their sharing the mommy-alter in their blood, cutting their veins and smearing their blood on each other to form "blood brotherhoods."[113] But strong leaders are avoided because they might bring back memories of maternal domination: "Australian aborigines traditionally eliminated aggressive men who tried to dominate them [and] in New Guinea, they execute prominent individuals who overstep their prerogatives."[114] Personal loyalty to leaders is tentative because of their overwhelming schizoid mistrust and envy, so the most social organization that can be achieved is "Big Men" who do not threaten to subject others too much to maternal engulfment and despair—better to stick to alter fetishes and constant gift-exchange to ward off the return of childhood memories of starvation and abandonment. Every step toward personal closeness or trust brings flashbacks to maternal distancing, since "schizoid states often lead to acute paranoid

regressions because the patient's aggression becomes more threatening to him as he allows himself to get closer to other individuals."[115] Thus wars in tribal societies often follow disappointments in sexual affairs—as men fail in achieving intimacy, they become paranoid and go off to kill imagined "enemies." Only when childrearing achieved the next highest mode were men able to achieve complex societies that allowed dominant male leaders and trust in others sufficient to permit ownership and complex hierarchical organizations that could permit development of higher levels of economic production and trade.

THE NARCISSISTIC PSYCHOCLASS OF ANTIQUITY

Narcissistic personalities ward off their sense of an empty, inadequate self by fusing with the harsh attacking parent alter and forming a grandiose self that identifies with the omnipotent parent. Or they become a latent narcissist and cling to and admire a grandiose other, a narcissistic hero who can stand up to the destructive mother alter.[116] Whereas schizoid tribal personalities tried to maintain a safe distance to avoid engulfment, the narcissistic personalities of antiquity tried to maintain some sense of self by arming themselves with grandiose exhibitionism. Thus they constantly live in the state of narcissistic display, as for instance early Greeks did when they spent their days displaying their bodies at gymnasiums and at night—rather than going home to risk intimacy with their wives —engaged in male-only drinking/raping parties. The narcissistic personalities of antiquity were exploitative, distrustful, ruthless and lacking in empathy,[117] being preoccupied with fantasies of the power and brilliance of a world filled with arrogant, distant narcissistic heroes and gods and grandiose political leaders upon whom they depended to validate their weak sense of self. Their pedophilia was also a result of their only being able to have sex with a narcissistic double of themselves stemming from when they were beautiful youths and, like Narcissus, fell in love with themselves, avoiding women as "vultures" who were out to catch and devour them.

Early civilizations began with both gods and leaders who had maternal characteristics: devouring goddesses everywhere prevailed, and even chiefs seemed to be mommies—as the Anyi said: "When the king's breasts are full of milk, it is his people who drink."[118] Parin found the Anyi clung to their kings because "their fear of women was greater than their fear of men" and because of "their need to find a chief or master who enjoys prestige and power so that they can submit to him and introject power" and avoid maternal engulfment.[119] As Galen put it: "Each man trembled forever on the brink of becoming 'womanish'"[120] —i.e., of switching permanently into his mommy alter and losing his self. The ever-present fear of turning into a woman found throughout early civilizations explains why religions and politics were defensive arenas filled with sadistic maternal alters and why periodic wars were desperately needed to attempt to restore men's potency.

The daily life of the narcissistic personalities of antiquity was filled with projected alters, from the evil spirits, devils and *dybbuks* that Jews were constantly exorcising to the bloodthirsty female spirits, serpents and demons that Sumerians, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans tried to ward off with their various religious fetishes. "At every corner evil spirits were on the watch…there was also danger from the spells of numerous witches, in whom everyone believed implicitly."[121] Even supposedly rational Greeks were, as Gouldner put it, "deeply concerned about their capacity to go murderously berserk."[122] Egyptians regularly talked to their avenging alters, as the "world-weary man" talked to his "double," his Ba, about suicide, making "suicide so

common that the crocodiles in the Nile could no longer cope with the corpses."[123] Hippocrates confirmed that Greeks often experienced "convulsions, fears, terrors and delusions," and physicians in every country of antiquity were expected to treat possessions, hallucinations, frenzies, lycanthropies and other symptoms of dissociated personalities (melancholy in Greek meaning "furor.")[124] The average Greek acknowledged that his emotional life was constantly controlled by his alters, which were given names like *psyche, thumos, menos, kardia, kradie, etor, noos, ate*, and so on. Dodds says that Homer describes *ate*, for instance, as "a temporary clouding or bewildering of the normal consciousness…a partial and temporary insanity…ascribed to an external 'daemonic' agency."[125] Medea says she did not kill her children, her *thumos* forced her to kill them. One's *psyche* looks and sounds like a living person, Odysseus says, but it flies off "like a shadow or a dream."[126] Sometimes they were co-conscious with these alters, but often they were not, since they completely took over the self. Adkins wrote an entire book on how the Greeks of antiquity kept switching into their subpersonalities, describing their "low degree of unity and cohesion [as] one 'little man' (so to speak) within him after another addresses and prompts him…"[127] Usually the spirits and demons of antiquity betrayed their maternal origin—not so surprising when one reads statements like that of Galen who said "my mother was so very prone to anger that sometimes she bit her handmaids"[128]or that of Xenophon who said he would "rather bear a wild beast's brutality than that of his mother."[129]

The earliest civilizations uniformly worshipped vampire goddesses who were devouring maternal alters. All were what Jungians term "Dragon Mothers"[130] —from Lilith, Nin-Tu, Hecate and Ishtar to Moira, Shiva, Gorgon and Erinyes. They were usually called by their worshipers "Terrible Mothers," usually had serpentine features and were called terms like "cruel, jealous, unjust, her glance brings death, her will is supreme" by worshippers.[131] Since contemporary multiple personalities also sometimes hallucinate gigantic serpents as alters,[132] one must believe the witnesses in early civilizations when they insist they really saw these serpent-goddesses. The Dragon Mother Goddesses accurately embodied the infanticidal "infinitely needy mother who cannot let her children go because she needs them for her own psychic survival…giving her child the impossible task of filling her limitless void [and] engulfing them to prevent them from claiming a separate life for themselves."[133] One of the earliest Vulture Goddesses can be seen on the shrine walls of the Neolithic town of Catal Hüyük, a bloodthirsty Goddess with wings of a vulture who is shown eating headless corpses. Corpses of people were actually thrown into the fields nearby so vultures could eat them in sacrificial rebirth rituals.[134] That vultures were maternal was shown long ago in Freud's paper showing that the Egyptian hieroglyph for "mother" clearly represents a vulture and that the Egyptians worshipped a vulture-headed mother-goddess.[135] Even early Hebrews worshipped a mother-goddess, Asherah,[136] who, along with Lilith, the other vampire goddess mentioned in the Bible, "ceaselessly devoured the blood" of her worshippers and "roamed the world in search of children to eat, rape and kill." Even the Sphinx (*sphinx* means "throttler") was a maternal monster who devoured youth.[137] Most of the male animal gods of early civilizations were pictured as slaves of goddesses, like "the Bull of Heaven, the ferocious monster who killed three hundred men at each snort of his breath [whom] Ishtar in her rage sent down to devastate the land."[138] But usually the Mother Goddesses accomplished their own slaughters: "Kali, the Black One, breasts big with milk, adorned with the blood-dripping hands and heads of her victims, devouring the entrails of a human victim or drinking blood from a human skull."[139] Statues of these bloodthirsty goddesses were set up in ziggurats and temples all over the world, daily washed, dressed, fed, talked to, and *heard to*

speak their commands,[140] so hallucinatory was the power of the alters. The statues were such bloodthirsty maternal alter fetishes that often priests would take the blood of the sacrificial victim and anoint the face of the idol so She could drink of it.[141] "Divinely-induced madness"—as in the Dionysian rituals of ancient Greece— would sometimes even cause women to become possessed by their Terrible Mother alters and act out the killing of the victim, especially when they were experiencing post-partum depressions. As Euripides describes them: "Breasts swollen with milk, new mothers who had left their babies behind at home…clawed calves to pieces with bare hands [and] snatched children from their homes."[142]

The fetal origins of early religions were everywhere evident. Actual human placentas were often hung on trees, worshipped and offered human sacrifices.[143] Goddesses like Tiamat were referred to as "poisonous wombsnakes," Sumerians and Babylonians worshipped "placenta-ghosts," and even the Hebrew name for Eve (*Khawwa*) meant "the Serpent Lady."[144] Peruvians used to place their actual placentas into the womb of their religious statues,[145] just as most *nagual* worshipped in ancient Meso-American religions were real placentas.[146] All the "Cosmic Trees" found in early religions—from the Tree of Eden to Jesus' Cross—were placental in origin, and the priest was often portrayed as a fetus: "He has become a fetus. His head is veiled and he is made to clench his fists, for the embryo in its bag has its fists clenched. He walks around the hearth just as the fetus moves within the womb…he unclenches his fists, he unveils himself, he is born into divine existence, he is a god."[147] Carthaginian and other child sacrifice religions used both fetuses and newborn in their rites,[148] and cults even today often kill real fetuses in rebirth rituals.[149] Even the Deluge myths—from Gilgamesh to that of the Hebrew Bible—contain many elements of the rush of amniotic waters prior to birth.

Every detail of the worship of Mother Goddesses has its origins in actual traumatic childrearing experiences of antiquity. Most "Terrifying Mothers" had divine sons who were forced to commit incest with them,[150] similar to the Japanese mothers and others described in the previous chapter,[151]with "every mother goddess having their son-lovers, Inanna and Tammuz, Isis and Osiris, Cybele and Attis, Aphrodite and Adonis."[152] The religious rituals restaged accurately the maternal seduction: "Not only does the Mother Goddess love her son simply for his phallus, she castrates him, taking possession of it to make herself fruitful."[153] In India until recently, "visitors to many ancient shrines used to have symbolic intercourse with stone-cut female deities by thrusting their fingers into deep touchholes, worn by generations of finger-thrusters, at the deities' sexual centers."[154] Thus it is quite mistaken to call ancient sexual seduction rituals "Sacred Marriages." They are in fact "Sacred Maternal *Incests*." When the incest is complete and the "insatiable appetite" of the Goddess assuaged, the Mother Goddess then castrated her son[155] and even, in the case of Ishtar, "wore a necklace of testicles in depictions of her. The Great Mother was gentler to women than to men, who had great reason to fear her dark side as Devouring-Mother. [She] existed not to be loved, but to be *placated*."[156] Worshippers of the Magna Mater, called *galli*, castrated themselves for her, "wishing to be like a child, the better to serve the goddess,"[157] "running through the city with severed organs and throwing them into any house."[158]

That sacrifices of all sorts are for "wiping out evil and guilt" of the community is well-established,[159] but that sacrifice was usually equated with childbirth ("man's childbearing") and sacrificers serve inner maternal alters and often pretend to be mothers ("the priests masqueraded

as pregnant women during the sacrifice")[160] is less well known. Astarte "massacred mankind, young and old, causing heads and hands to fly and tying heads to her back, hands to her girdle."[161] Drawings of the goddess "show her perpetual hunger for human sacrificial victims."[162] Visnu particularly favored devouring the victims' genitals.[163] The sacrificial rituals made a point of saying the victim must be innocent, like a child. Ancient religions used to blurt out alter beliefs that we today only tentatively suggest might be true.

Because these goddesses were also "The Mistresses of Battle," soldiers killed in battle were also seen as sacrifices to her bloodthirsty appetite. "The goddess brings destruction to enemies; she drinks the blood of the victims who were formerly her children…she could not be halted in her slaughter of the human race."[164] Since these deaths originated in such memories as watching his mother strangle his little sister when she was born, war goddesses particularly needed the death of their own soldiers. As an early Ugaritic text says of the goddess Anat: "She is filled with joy as she plunges her knees in the blood of heroes."[165] Often the sacrificer was actually female, as was the chief priestess of the Celtic moon goddess, who cut off the victims' heads with her own hands, restaging the maternal infanticide.[166]

But rituals don't just repeat early trauma: they *restage* them—rearrange them to include elements of both the violence of the Perpetrating Alters and the rage of the Victim Alters. Thus the murderous goddess Tiamat is killed by her son Marduk in a tremendous battle by an "arrow that tore through her belly and inner parts."[167] Only by defeating the infanticidal mother could sons "overcome chaos." As Halpern says: "The hero is one who slays his mother [and] institutes a new order on earth…culture is the work of the hero, the mother-killer, and represents his attempt at self-generation."[168] That the killing is the rage of the infantile victim alter against the mother is seen by the fact that the Mother Goddess, after being killed, is nevertheless identified with: for instance, the Aztecs beheaded women representing their Mother Goddesses and *flayed* them, donning their skins so that they can *become* them and acquire their dangerous powers, their *mana*.[169]

The acquisition of the powers of the Terrifying Mother by a male God was only slowly and partially accomplished in antiquity. Yahweh might conquer the primordial female monster, Leviathan, symbol of chaos, and He might demand complete obedience, "with all thy heart and all thy soul and all thy might." He might even take over sacrificial demands, as when He tells Abraham to sacrifice Isaac to found Israel in a blood-brotherhood convenant. But behind what Maccoby calls "The Sacred Executioner"[170] lies the sacrificial mother alter; behind every adored Adonis lies the cruel Astarte. Greeks may have tried to defend against maternal engulfment by holding annual processions where they marched with giant phalli, but the vase illustrations of the phalli show *women* holding them up in the air. Even powerful kings, like Odin or Wodan, had to be periodically sacrificed to the Mother Goddess, the World Ash, to assuage her blood thirst and cleanse the people.[171] Only by sacrificing together could men establish patrilineal kinship and political power. Even in Greece and Rome, patrilineal kin only knew they were kin because they sacrificed together: sacrifice was called "a remedy for having been born of woman." Even death in war strengthened the weak bonding between males—when an Aztec captured an enemy, he called him "my beloved son" and the captive answered, "my beloved father," then killed him.[172] That the sacrificial victim contained the Bad Boy Alter can be seen at the beginning of the ritual, when the victim is "injected with the poison" of childhood sin, rubbed with dirt if the

victim was an animal or given many sexual partners before the sacrifice if the victim was a human. That it was internal alters who demanded the sacrifice was indicated by the priest saying, "The gods have done this deed; I did not do it!" or, as in Athens, by holding a trial after the sacrifice in which the full blame for the slaying was attributed to the knife, which, "having been found guilty, was punished by being destroyed."[173]

The more wealthy and successful ancient societies became, the more guilty they felt, the more their growth panic led them to defend against their avenging maternal alters by clinging to a more and more powerful male leader. As Earle observes, "chiefdoms are states of mind [and] chiefs rule not because of their power but because of their place in a sacredly chartered world order"[174] —the world order of alters and their containers. The more kings appropriated maternal alter power—her *mana*—the more they had to go through seasonal cleansing ceremonies, including ritual abasement and even "killing of the king," in order to punish themselves for their *hubris*.[175] In these ceremonies, the king was ritually called "a turd [who] has come to save us,"[176] hit in the face with a sword, and only then invested with *Heil*,[177] his portion of maternal *mana*. But everyone in antiquity knew where his power really came from: the vaginal maternal crown, which was addressed by the king as "O Red Crown, Let there be fear of me like the fear of thee;" the throne, called the "mother" of the king; and the sceptre, "a branch from the placental Tree of Life."[178]

THE MASOCHISTIC PSYCHOCLASS OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

As mothers moved from infanticidal to abandoning mode childrearing (see Chapters 6 and 7), early Christians could internalize a mommy who doesn't actually *kill* her children but only *abandons* them, both through emotional abandonment and through sending them to wetnurses, fosterage, monasteries, service with others, etc. Even profound neglect is less devastating than watching your baby sister be strangled, so early Christians could for the first time in history hope to get their mother's/God's love (redemption) if they show her their pain and get her pity. This display of pain to get the love of the mother is known as the masochistic personality, a lower level borderline condition,[179] which for the first time in history enables people to imagine that if they debase and torture themselves, the mother/God will feel sorry for them and might provide salvation, eventual closeness, rather than just helplessness and unbearable loneliness.

The gods of antiquity were distant, impersonal gods: "The gods might often mingle with men and women, but they did not seem to spend their time cultivating reciprocal love."[180] As Aristotle said, "When one party is removed to a great distance, as God is, the possibility of friendship ceases."[181] But the Christian God "loves and can be loved in return."[182] For abandoning mode children, if you worship and love your Mommy/God, if you take over yourself her beating and tortures of your body, if you give up all personal needs and starve yourself and avoid sex, you will through your masochistic display gain forgiveness and perhaps even be allowed eventually to merge with Her.[183]

Christ is, of course, the main Suffering Victim Alter who has been sent to earth by God to display his wounds and ask for pity on behalf of mankind. While the narcissistic personalities of antiquity generally agreed with Socrates that "no one is willfully evil,"[184] the masochistic personalities of early Christians put sin at the center of life and built up a church of expiation and

confession that for the first time allowed pardon for the sins. The musings of early theologians about Christ sounded like the ruminations of the child about his or her mother's mistreatment:

God abandoned him, he treated him as the most abominable of men; and after an infinity of disgraces, of ignominies, and suffering, without any regard that he was His own Son, he caused him to die by the most shameful and cruel torture there ever was…He worked his vengeance on His Son, as if He had nothing to do with him.[185]

But the Christian, like the abandoning mode child, then totally absolved the Mother/God of all blame by a simple trick, saying: "*I am all to blame. I deserve the torture. Mommy/God will pity me if I torture myself.*" The trick is one regularly used today by lower level borderline masochists, who show extremely high occurrences of reported childhood neglect (92 percent)[186] and physical and sexual abuse (59 percent to 91 percent), who cut and burn and torture themselves endlessly in order to punish themselves and gain pity from their mommy alters. Earlier gods in antiquity killed and tortured children, of course, but they, like Jehovah, only "laughed at the slaughter of the damned."[187] The Christian God *loved* you for torturing and sacrificing yourself.

The masochistic display of one's wounds had already become a popular group-fantasy of antiquity by early Christian times. Gladiatorial combats "to appease the spirits of the dead" were widespread, where warriors volunteered to be killed in the arena in order to display their wounds and gain the applause of the people.[188] Wholly gratuitous wars were fought mainly for masochistic purposes; it was said that "warriors glory in their wounds; they rejoice to display their flowing blood…The man who returns from battle unhurt may have fought as well, but he who returns wounded is held in higher esteem."[189] Christian masochism ritualized the absolution/penance ritual to assure adherents that when they felt unloved they could go to a church, relive Christ's agonies, confess their sins, carry out penances and assure their Mommy/God that they still worshipped Her and that it was really the child's/worshipper's fault that Mommy/God was so unhappy.

Confession, penance and absolution are, of course, endless alter propitiations: "Gregory frequently expressed his fear that, because of God's unknown and unpredictable severity, man could never know if he inflicted enough suffering upon himself to propitiate God…punishment should take the form of a constant, unremitting anxiety and sorrow for one's sins…as teeth tearing the flesh."[190] Both Christians and Jews "engaged in a contest and reflection about the new-fangled practice of martyrdom,"[191] even unto suicide. Jesus, too, says John, really committed suicide, and Augustine spoke of "the mania for self-destruction" of early Christians.[192] Roman authorities tried hard to avoid Christians because they "goaded, chided, belittled and insulted the crowds until they demanded their death."[193] One man shouted to the Roman officials: "I want to die! I am a Christian," leading the officials to respond: "If they wanted to kill themselves, there was plenty of cliffs they could jump off."194 But the Christians, following Tertullian's dicta that "martyrdom is required by God," forced their own martyrdom so they could die in an ecstatic trance: "Although their tortures were gruesome, the martyrs did not suffer, enjoying their analgesic state."[195] Even today, about 10 per cent of masochistic borderlines complete suicide,[196] always with a maternal "Hidden Executioner" alter present to feel pity.

Short of suicide, martyrdom and asceticism was built into every element of Christian ritual and practice. Monasticism was an orgy of masochistic penance for the sins of individuation, with fasts, flagellations, continence and pilgrimages routine requirements—restaging the starvations, bindings, beatings and expulsions to wetnurse of childhood. Yet, unlike earlier religions, Christianity allowed their priests to *forgive, console and reconcile* the sinner/child with Mommy/God after the punishment. Whereas earlier religions punished animals or others as Victim Alters, Christianity encouraged the punishment of one's own body as a cleansing "second birth." Mommy/God *could* be pacified by martyrdom and one could receive Her/His love at last. Octavius described the pleasure God had at seeing Christians suffering: "How fair a spectacle for God to see when a Christian stands face to face with pain."[197] As Pope Urban told the knights in order to get them to go on the First Crusade: "We hold out to you a war which contains the glorious reward of martyrdom,"[198] with its final reward, the love of God, since "only martyrs will attain to Paradise before the Second Coming."[199]

That priests were punishers leads one to wonder if they were not really concretizations of Perpetrator Alters, that is, remnants of abusers. Although one usually is used to identifying the "legions of demons and spirits" that made Christians gash themselves as the perpetrators, priests themselves are usually pictured as helpful figures. Yet priestly alters of masochists today often turn out to have the features of rapists,[200] while psychotherapists who treat ritual abuse survivors find that "Satan usually turns out to be a traumatized child," raging over early sexual abuse.[201] In fact, alters and religious fantasy figures usually contain remnants of both the perpetrators and victims of childhood traumas. The Devil might embody the rage of the raped child, but he also has attributes of the rapist: he is naked, he has a "long nose" (penis), he is red (flush of erect penis) and he is "hairy" (pubic hair). The precise details of the image of Christ on the Cross are all from childhood. Christ is shown as an infant (naked, except for swaddling-band loincloth), abandoned by Mommy (God), bound or nailed to a wooden Cross (the wooden board all infants were bound to during swaddling), with a crown of thorns (the painful head-shaping devices used on infants before swaddling) and with a bloody hole in his side (evidence of the childhood rape, vaginal or anal). Even the details of Christ's life conform to routine childhood conditions. For instance, Christ got the bloody wound in his side, the subject of much theological concern, because his Father sent him down to be crucified—just as so many real fathers at the time sent their young children to their neighbors to be used as sexual objects—and the bad soldier stripped Christ and stuck his phallic lance into him—just as the bad neighbor stripped the child and stuck his erect penis into him. If sexuality meant memories of rape to most children growing up at that time, it is no wonder that Christianity preached sexuality was shameful, "a token of human bondage," and must be avoided at all costs. The ritual of the Mass, too—with "the Lord, sacrificed, and laid upon the altar, and the priest, standing, and all the people empurpled with his most precious blood" (Chrysostom)[202] —is equally a "rite of penetration," a restaging of childhood rape, as the frightening priest in his black robe circles slowly around the helpless, naked Christ. The deepest feeling behind all these Christian rites was the loneliness and hunger of the worshipper—the abandonment depression—so it is not surprising that images of real hunger often broke through during the Christian ritual. Priests and worshippers often reported that during Holy Communion they would see in the host "a very young boy; and when the priest began to break the host, they thought they saw an angel coming down out of the sky who cut the boy up with a knife." Or else they would fear that the worshipper might not want to bite into "the Communion wafer if they could see that they were actually biting off the head, hands and feet of

a little child."[203] Even Christ himself, the Victim Alter, was thought to be terribly hungry: "Christ's hunger is great beyond measure; he devours us…his hunger is insatiable."[204] The abandoning mode child's hunger—for love, food, care, support—is never forgotten, and it can be found at the heart of every Christian ritual throughout the Middle Ages.

THE BORDERLINE PSYCHOCLASS OF LATER CHRISTIANITY

It must be recalled that new parenting modes begin with just a few people at a time, which means that ambivalent mode parenting and the resulting higher level borderline personalities—which begin in the twelfth century—continued for some time to be minorities in European families, co-existing with earlier masochistic, narcissistic and schizoid personalities in their societies. By the twelfth century, when Western Europe began to move in new directions, the empires of antiquity had collapsed in a masochistic orgy of military self-destruction. The clinging needs of the new borderline psychoclass—a symptom of their feelings of isolation, emptiness and separation anxiety—were now defended against by constructing the profound personal bonds of feudalism. "The borderline," says Hartocollis, "is an angry individual. Characterized by oral demandingness, often with a paranoid flavour [and] a sense of emptiness or depression…making him feel chronically lonesome, frustrated, alienated."[205] This emptiness was known to medieval psychoclasses as *acidia*, which one twelfth-century monk says is "a disgust of the heart, an enormous loathing of yourself…a great bitterness…Your soul is torn to pieces, confused and split up, sad and embittered."[206] From the twelfth century on, *acedia* attracted much attention as a "turning away from God," again, the fault of the person/child, not of the God/Mommy. When people confessed to feelings of *acedia* and reported their feelings of despair and self-hatred, they were given severe penitentials by their priests to ward off their suicidal thoughts.

The clinging of the feudal bond is paralleled to the clinging tie to God and to Mother Mary and Jesus, who for the first time takes on overt maternal traits, even allowing worshippers to suck his breasts and wounds.[207] Real ambivalent mode mothers were now nurturing enough so that one can even find descriptions of "God as a woman nursing the soul at her breasts, drying its tears and punishing its petty mischief-making…"[208] Of course, in true borderline style, the price of some closeness with God is total devotion, the medieval Christian saying: "To my beloved, I will forever be His servant, His slave, All for God, and nothing for me."[209] As contemporary borderlines say: "I know you will love and take care of me if I don't self-activate. I'll please you by clinging and complying with your wishes, so you will take care of me, and these bad (abandonment) feelings will go away."[210]

The advances of borderline personalities beyond lower-level masochistic psychoclasses were, however, profound, and soon began to carry Western Europe beyond the accomplishments of the rest of the world. Much has been written of "the invention of the self and individuality" beginning in the twelfth century. Prior to this period, there was not even a word for "self," and the word "personality" meant a mask held before an actor, i.e., a "false self."[211] But "the practice of self-examination was deeper and more widespread in twelfth-century Europe than at any time before [and] medieval Europe changed from a 'shame culture' to a 'guilt culture'" as inner motives and not just outer behavior became the focus of confessions and of literature.[212] Autobiographies began to multiply, seals indicating personal identity began to be used more widely and writers began to wonder if God might allow a unique *self* for each person, a *homo interior* that was fashioned by one—"in the image of God," of course, but nevertheless

made by one's real self.[213] The results in society from the twelfth through the fifteenth century of these advances in self were astonishing: a vast expansion in agriculture and early industries, the beginnings of both State formation and of capitalism, an upsurge in trade and exploration, a huge population growth as infanticide dropped, an enormous growth of cities and civil rights. Change became not only possible but preferable for the first time in history. Those people in these centuries who were still masochistic and narcissistic decompensated from all the change, became possessed by devils, imagined they might soon be thrown in Hell for their bold new aspirations, or flagellated themselves for wanting to be independent. Growth panic soon began to produce periodic fears of millenarian violence, leading directly to the apocalyptic expectations and witch-hunts of the Renaissance and Reformation.

THE DEPRESSIVE PSYCHOCLASS OF THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

The new childrearing mode beginning around the sixteenth century—the intrusive mode—was a leap forward, when mothers stopped sending their children to wetnurse and stopped leaving them hungry in their cradles, faced the tasks of caring for them boldly if uncertainly, ended swaddling, beat them less and reduced their being sent out as servants. As it was described earlier, "parents shifted from trying to stop childrens' growth to trying only to control it and make it 'obedient.' True empathy begins with intrusive mode parents, producing a general improvement in the level of care and reduced mortality, leading to more investment in each child." The difference between borderline and depressive personalities today has been documented to be a result of far less overt sexual and physical abuse during childhood, with far less impulsivity, low self-esteem and self-destructive acts in the depressive, despite the presence of sadness as a major emotion.[214] This is because what the depressives are doing that borderlines cannot yet do is *facing their abandonment depression*. Psychotherapists find that after treating borderlines and confronting their defenses for some time, they then become more depressed, having finally to face the abandonment fears of their childhood rather than running away from them into clinging, self-destructive behavior, since "depression accompanies improvement…the beginnings of identity integration, the development of integrated self and object representations [and] conscious guilt and remorse."[215]

Ever since Huizinga analyzed the "sombre melancholy that weighed on people's souls" after the close of the Middle Ages, the period has been well known for its deep despondency, when, says Donne, God "reserved for these times an extraordinary sadness, a predominant melancholy."[216]From sixteenth-century diaries to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, books on inner life were little more than records of the writer's depressions and how he tried to overcome them. Humanists glorified melancholy as the heightened self-awareness of the intellectual, the cost of individualism, and they were right. Melancholy had to be faced for one to be what Pico called a man "restrained by no narrow bonds, according to thine own free will in thou, thine own maker and molder, fashioning thyself in whatever manner thou likest best."[217] Both Jaques and Hamlet were proudly presented by Shakespeare as "melancholy philosophers," wearing black with pride, "condemning abuses, but never condemning earthly existence."[218] Ficino speculated on "Why Melancholics Are Intelligent," noting that the most bold, learned people he knew were always melancholic,[219] and philosophers gave the excellent advice that friendship was the best antidote to "melancholy, the malaise of the age."[220] Elizabethans thought melancholy "both a very wretched state and a very happy state…[and] melancholy was often praised and sought after as a great felicity," a mark of an intellectual who had "risen superior to the petty concerns of ordinary

men and occupied with thoughts of worth and dignity,"[221] thoughts of personal meaning and self improvement.

Though Mommy's/God's grace might only come after "holy desperation" for the depressive personality of the Reformation, though Her forgiveness might still be "unpredictable, unknowable and incomprehensible," if one obeys Her dicta then She might be a forgiving God who cared for you.[222]Luther could now hope that God would actually love him because He was sometimes *kind*! This hope suddenly allowed an expansion of the real self, and the world, and its activities suddenly became invested with new vigor. For the new depressive psychoclass, Mommy/God didn't need you sexually, so celibacy was not necessary. She could forgive, so one could actually *trust* Her and cast oneself upon Her mercy. She paid attention to your need for food, so you didn't have to fast your whole life. She actually listened to you, so you could individuate your self beyond clinging to religious and political authorities. Dissociation and splitting declined for these depressives—achieving for the first time what Melanie Klein calls "the depressive position" which allows merger of the good breast/bad breast split—so women were not split into virgins and whores (Mary and Eve) but were for the first time seen as human beings with both good and bad qualities, and marriage for the first time in history became a worthy goal rather than just a way to legitimate fornication.

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the new mode of intrusive childrearing had catapulted Western Europe far beyond the earlier psychoclasses of the rest of the world, giving their minority of depressives a new sense of self worth and the ideal of cumulative, necessary progress which led to the modern world we know today. The growth of knowledge, the invention of printing, the new questioning of authority, the exploration of new lands and ideas, all were evidence that "European people had altered in some fundamental way"[223] —a change in their psyches, not in their environment. For the first time in history, Mommy/God "was relegated to a vague and impenetrable heaven, somewhere up in the skies. Man and man alone was the standard by which all things were measure."[224] Science began its spectacular leap into the unknown. Political systems without divine sanctions and economics that were based on real trust became the goals of society. Joy in life need not be something sinful, hope was allowed and freedom for self exploration did not need to be disobedience to Mommy/God. These lessons—first learned in families at the feet of innovative mothers—soon produced new institutions to express these new freedoms, particularly in France and England, where childrearing was most advanced.

Unfortunately, while depressives could begin to try to live out their new freedoms, they were still a minority in these centuries, and the earlier psychoclasses experienced the new freedoms of the age as terribly dangerous and certain to call upon them the wrath of Mommy/God. These centuries of progress were therefore also centuries of apocalyptic fears and wars, when people were certain that so much change would unchain Satan and his swarms of demon alters and that the world was certain to end soon. Apocalyptic prophecies, cults and religious wars proliferated in Reformation Europe, particularly in areas like Germany where childrearing had changed the least.[225] What Trevor-Roper calls "the general crisis of the seventeenth century"[226] was in fact a psychoclass conflict, and the demons, witches and anti-Christs that roamed Europe at that time were all really the Persecutory Alters that inhabited the schizoid, narcissistic, masochistic and borderline psychoclasses that still represented the majority of Europe. These earlier

psychoclasses responded with violence to all the progress of the period, "acting out with fierce energy a shared [millenarian] phantasy which, though delusional, yet brought them such intense emotional relief that they…were willing both to kill and to die for it."[227] The new religious services of the Reformation were felt to be "full of wild liberty," and "beast-like carnal liberty" was reported seen at anabaptist prayer meetings, where services were said to be conducted in the nude.[228] All the individuation would certainly bring punishment upon mankind, and pamphlets were circulated describing how clouds were raining blood and flocks of birds were holding cosmic battles in the sky "as auguries of some impending disaster."[229] A placental "Many-Headed Monster" was hallucinated as savaging Europe, carrying out the Day of Judgement because "by now seven-year-old children demonstrated more wickedness than had previously been possible by evil old men…the world had become so wicked that things could hardly get worse."[230] Religious wars broke out all over Europe, as "God was unable to bear it any longer and decided to cleanse his Church with a great scourge."[231]

Historians have long been puzzled by why the witchcraft epidemic took place in the centuries that were most progressive, but if the craze is seen as a reaction to growth panic it becomes explainable. Tens of thousands of women responded to their new freedoms by becoming possessed by their alters and falling into trances: "Observers spoke of the possessed as 'choked,' subjected to 'thousands of cruel pinches,' 'stuck [with] innumerable pins,' and 'cut with knives and struck with blows that they could not bear,"[232] as they restaged the memories of swaddling pins, parental blows and other childhood traumas. Those who persecuted witches were obviously taking vengeance upon their mommies; indeed, most witches were either mothers or wetnurses.[233] A witch was transparently a mommy, since she rode on a maternal broom, had special teats where "imps" sucked on her body, smothered babies in their cradles and came into your bedroom uninvited and seduced you.[234] As Roper puts it: "Relations between mothers, those occupying maternal roles and children, formed the stuff of most witchcraft accusations."[235] "Over and over again in the trial records, the accused women are addressed as 'Mother'…the witch is a monstrous mother…"[236]

The rape of children formed a central focus for witchcraft group-fantasies. Descriptions of the sexual orgies that went on at *sabbats* clearly reveal their origins in childhood rape attacks, and young girls who had "convulsive fits" in court "as the Devil entered them"[237] restaged each detail of their earlier rapes before their startled audiences. Nuns in particular were afflicted with demonic possession, going into trances and accusing priests of seducing them, which they often had really done.[238] The extreme youth of those raped can be seen in their complaint that "the genital organs of their Demons are so huge and so excessively rigid that they cannot be admitted without the greatest pain."[239] Entire villages would sometimes periodically go into trances together, call themselves "Benandanti," and fight Devils together, all while fully dissociated, "as if I was both sleeping and not sleeping."[240] By the time the witch-craze had disappeared by the beginning of the eighteenth century, a million innocent people had died in an orgy of alter persecution caused by too much progress during the Reformation—just as six million would later die in the alter persecution caused by too much progress in Weimar Germany.

THE NEUROTIC PSYCHOCLASS OF MODERN TIMES

The socializing mode of childrearing that began in the eighteenth century and that continues to be the ideal of most nations today replaced the absolute obedience of the intrusive psychoclass

with parental manipulation and psychological punishments, in order to make the child "fit into the world" as a replica of the parent.[241] Individuation was still limited, since the needs and goals of the parent superceded those of the child as it attempted to separate, but empathy was now available to parents to ensure that basic care was provided. It was the socializing psychoclass that built the modern world, with its ideal of the competent self and the quest for a *real self* as a life-long existential quest.[242] As Masterson puts it: "The psychoneurotic personality…has the capacity for whole self- and whole object-relations, and repression has replaced splitting. From the perspective of the personality disorder, to be psychoneurotic is an achievement."[243]

Rather than switching into full possession trances and demon alters, the neurotic psychoclass of modern times switches into their social alters, their social roles (see Chapter 4), as organized by the group-fantasies of nations rather than by religious groups. Sacrifice for the Mommy-Nation—dying for the Motherland—replaces dying for Christ: "We are to die so that the motherland may live; for while we live the motherland is dying…A nation can only regenerate itself in a bath of blood."[244] It was the *nation* as a master group-fantasy that organized and contained both the new faith in progress and its sacrificial wars, acted out in periodic cycles of innovative, depressive, manic and war stages (see Chapter 5). In each stage, nations follow a different psychoclass style. In the innovative stage, the neurotic psychoclass provides new social, political and economic progress; in the depressive stage, the depressive psychoclass is followed into economic depression; in the manic stage, narcissists take over with their grandiose projects; and in the war stage nations follow self-destructive masochists and paranoid schizoids into violence. Choosing earlier psychoclasses—psychological fossils—as leaders has become a constant practice in modern nations, only masked by the idealization of the public switched into their social alters. To realize that we willingly delegate to a handful of men sitting in a deep trance in the Oval Office the power to blow up much of the world depending upon whether they think they feel "humiliated"—as in the Cuban Missile Crisis—is to realize the bizarre extent of the dissociation between fantasy and reality that continues to pervade our modern psyches.

All the other aspects of modern industrial society are equally results of the new socializing psychoclass childrearing, causing a greater increase in material prosperity in the past two centuries than in all the rest of human history. The reason for this astonishing progress is that science, technology and economic development depend more on *investments in parenting* than investments in equipment, since they crucially require an "exploring self" constructed from childhood. A few economists realize that the wealth of nations lies in the development of psyches more than in the investment of capital. Everett Hagan and Lawrence Harrison, for instance, have demonstrated that those nations furthest behind today in economic development suffer from a severe underinvestment in families and children, not in capital equipment.[245] The historical record is clear: early pioneers in science and technology first had to overcome their alter projections before they could discover how the world worked. As Keith Thomas puts it: "It was the abandonment of magic which made possible the upsurge of technology, not the other way round."[246] Newton had to stop seeing falling objects "longing to return to Mother Earth" before he could posit a force of gravity. Chemists had to give up "alchemical visions of womb-battles between good and evil" inside their flasks before they could observe the real causes of chemical change.[247] Farmers had to be able to empathize with their horses in order to invent the harness collar that moved the pressure down from their throats to their flanks so they wouldn't be choked in order to increase the loads they could pull.[248] Farmers also had to stop thinking of

plowing as "tearing at the breast of Mother Earth" in order to invent the deep plow and change the face of European agriculture. Men had to begin to value their families in order to build wooden floors in their homes rather than leaving them clay as was the practice for millennia.[249] Every invention had its origin in the evolution of the psyche; every exploration of nature was a dimension of the exploration of the self.

Economic life, too, only evolved as childrearing and the psyche evolved. Tribal societies both in the past and in the present could not trust, because parents were untrustworthy, so they could not allow much wealth or surplus out of which they could create economic progress. Ownership was felt to be dangerous selfishness, envy ran rampant and ambition was feared: "The anthropologist may see people behaving with generosity, but this is the result of fear."[250] Those who acquired too much were expected to either engage in gift-exchange[251] and other redistributive rituals[252] or else to periodically destroy their surplus in cleansing sacrificial ceremonies.[253] Even the invention of money came from the sacred objects used for sacrifice to deities.[254] "Money is condensed wealth; condensed wealth is condensed guilt…money is filthy because it remains guilt."[255]

What held back economic development for so many millennia was that early civilizations were so abusively brought up that they spent most of their energies chasing "ghosts from the nursery"—religious, political and economic domination group-fantasies—rather than joining in together to solve the real tasks of life. The appalling poverty of most people throughout history has been simply an extension of the emotional poverty of the historical family, making real cooperation in society impossible. For instance, slavery was one of the most wasteful, uneconomical systems ever invented, since denying autonomy to one's fellow workers simply wasted both the slaves' and the owners' productivity and inventiveness. Running the world like a prison, with one half occupied with guarding the other half, has always been extremely unproductive. That unfree labor is always unproductive labor has long been acknowledged by economists.[256] Slaves were kept "as expressions of their owners' status and prestige"[257]even when they could barely manage to pick grapes because of their shackles. Owning slaves may have been very dangerous to you and to your family, and they may have often run away. But everyone still wanted to have them so they could be used to restage the tortures of one's childhood: "Galen remarked how common it was for slaves to be punched with the fists, to be kicked, to have their eyes put out, and how his own mother had had the habit of biting her maidservants."[258] Equipment for torturing slaves was widespread, including special whips and racks for beatings, special knives for facial mutilation and castration and metal plates and flaming torches for burnings. "There was even a torture and execution service operated by a company of undertakers…Flogging and crucifixion were standard options at a flat rate to the user…"[259]

With a third or more of ancient societies being slaves, an unending supply of bodies to flog was assured, even though this meant remaining mired in low-productivity economies.[260] Throughout the Roman classical period, Finley says, improvements in economic techniques were "marginal [because] patterns of land use and methods of tillage remained unchanged."[261] It was more important to restage early trumatic beatings and domination fantasies than to improve the abysmal squalor in which nearly everyone lived. Even with the disappearance of slavery during the Middle Ages—which Marc Bloch called "one of the most profound transformations mankind has known"[262] —the serfdom and other kinds of bondage that replaced it kept Europe for centuries in a rate of per capita product of only a tiny fraction of a percent per year.[263] It was only by the

early modern period when the need to restage family slavery began to decline that *trust* began to replace domination and the "take-off" phase in economics could begin. "The ultimate explanation of economic development lies not in purely economic factors, such as land, labor and capital…these will [occur] when people learn that it is good business to be just and considerate toward one's neighbors; to solve quarrels peacefully; [and] to be held accountable for the efficient use of resources." Purely economic theories that cannot concieve of psychogenic causes are reduced to statements such as: "No one planned Progress as a whole. It simply erupted."[265]

In addition to a take-off in economic progress, the modern psychoneurotic personality began to achieve levels of intimacy between men and women that were simply unknown to previous psychoclasses. When mothers were incestuous, it was not surprising that women were feared as sexually insatiable by men, and pederasty and rape were preferred to intimate, married love. All women were in danger of turning into dominating mothers and therefore had to be beaten; Homer's word for 'wife,' *damar*, means "broken into submission." In addition, that women throughout so much of history were accused of being unable to restrain their sexual appetites was not just a patriarchal myth—it was more the result of the widespread rape of young girls being restaged later in life, just as so many raped girls today grow up to repeat their sexual assaults later on in prostitution or adultery. That human sexuality through antiquity was conflated with violence and domination and that Christianity was the most anti-sexual religion known to mankind are only understandable as normal reactions to severe childhood seductions, not as inexplicable religious teachings.

That "conjugal love between husband and wife was considered ridiculous and impossible"[266] in antiquity is better understood as a consequence of the narcissistic personality's need to have perfection in their partner, fearing to risk attaching themselves to someone who was imperfect and whom they might lose like they lost their mothers and fathers earlier. Only through effective polygamy—either formal or through having concubines and slaves as alternatives to wives—could depending upon one woman be avoided. Indeed, the jealous mothers of the gynarchies of the past would often step in between their sons and their wives in order to keep them tied to themselves—as, for instance, Augustine's mother did when she made him dismiss his concubine, who had lived faithfully with him for years. Even Christian marriages were supposed to be passionless between the spouses. God stood in for the grandmother and demanded that all love and passion be reserved for Himself. It was not really until the depressive psychoclass began to face their abandonment depression in the sixteenth century that Erasmus could startle his readers with the view that marriage was superior to virginity and Puritan wives could be able to write passionate love poems to their husbands.[267] And it was only by the eighteenth century's socializing psychoclass that "husbands and wives who cherished each other were begun to be held in the greatest esteem [as] conjugal love attracted not sarcasm, but the most fervent admiration, thus giving rise to a sort of contest to see who could love his or her beloved spouse the most, who could best prove to the world the unshakable fidelity felt toward one's life partner."[268]

THE INDIVIDUATED PSYCHOCLASS OF POST-MODERN TIMES

It is difficult to describe what kind of world might be made by individuated personalities, as the first helping mode parents—where both mother and father unconditionally love their children

and help them achieve their own goals and own real selves from birth—have only been around for a few decades in the most advanced societies. As I watch my own children and some of their helping psychoclass friends grow up and establish their productive lives, I see them as very different from my own socializing psychoclass peers. They are far more empathic and therefore more concerned about others than we ever were, and this has made them far more activist in their lives in trying to make a difference and change the world for the better, mostly involving themselves in local activities rather than global political changes. They lack all need for nationalism, wars and other grandiose projects, and in the organizations they start are genuinely non-authoritarian. There is no question that if the world could treat children with helping mode parenting, wars and all the other self-destructive social conditions we still suffer from in the twenty-first century will be cured, simply because the world will be filled with individuated personalities who are empathic toward others and who are not self-destructive. A world that loves and trusts its children and encourages them to develop their unique selves will be a world of very different institutions, a world without wars, jails and other domination group-fantasies.

The main problem is that the evolution of childrearing has so far been a slow, uneven historical process, depending greatly upon increasing the support given innovative mothers and their hopeful daughters. Unfortunately, in a world where our destructive technology has far outrun our childrearing progress—where a single submarine can now carry a sufficient number nuclear warheads to destroy most of the world with the push of a button—we do not have the luxury of just waiting for childrearing to evolve. If we do, we will certainly blow ourselves up long before child abuse disappears enough to make us want to disarm. What we need now is *some way for the more advanced psychoclasses to teach childrearing to the less evolved parents*, a way to end child abuse and neglect quickly enough to avoid the global holocaust that is awaiting us.

ENDING CHILD ABUSE BY INVESTING IN THE REAL WEALTH OF NATIONS

Ever since the earliest psychohistorical studies were published linking child abuse to war and social violence, one physician-psychohistorian, Robert McFarland, concluded that it must be possible to end child abuse in his community by starting a new institution, Community Parenting Centers, and with every means possible *teach good parenting* to every new baby born in his city, Boulder, Colorado. It seemed ridiculous to McFarland that the entire world depends upon good parenting, while parenting was the only subject never taught in schools or anywhere else in the world. For the past two decades, therefore, McFarland has run The Parenting Place in several counties of Boulder, reaching out to visit every baby born in the areas and giving substantial support to all mothers and fathers—holding parenting discussion groups, baby massage courses, single mothers assistance, showing them how to bring up children without hitting them, how to foster their independence, etc. The wide range of activities of The Parenting Place can be seen in two articles in *The Journal of Psychohistory*.[269] Over half the families choose to be visited weekly in their homes for parenting instructions. Since no new mother or father *wants* to reject and abuse their babies, what McFarland found was that providing this help and hope for parents allowed their underlying affection to replace the abuse and neglect that comes from fear and despair—so that his statistics from local police and hospital records now show a real decrease in child abuse reports.

What is most astonishing is that McFarland found that Parenting Centers costs are far lower than what is saved in the later costs of abuse to the community. That the small budget for the Centers

is offset many times over by the costs to the communities of later social services and criminal behavior is a not unexpected finding, given that sociologists have calculated that "the costs to society of career criminal behavior, drug use, and high-school dropouts for a single youth is $1.7 to $2.3 million."[270] With the world spending trillions of dollars a year preparing for war and additional trillions for jails, establishing Parenting Centers in every community on earth for just a small part of this cost would soon provide an enormous saving to mankind—*an immediate saving*, even before the actual savings from the huge destructiveness of wars is realized. McFarland calculates that every community on earth (he is even starting a Parenting Center in Tajikistan in a sister city to Boulder) can be supported by a small "children's tax" of one-tenth of one percent increase in the sales tax.

Only by starting now on a vast world-wide program to end child neglect and abuse and raise all of our precious children with respect can we avoid the likely coming global holocaust. Only by reducing dissociation to a minimum through empathic parenting can we avoid inflicting the self-destructive power we now have available to us. This is the single most important finding of the new science of psychohistory. Free universal training centers for parents may be a radical new notion, but so once was the idea of free universal schools for children. Our task is clear and our resources sufficient to make our world safe for the first time in our long, violent history. All it takes now is the will to begin.